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ABSTRACT

This is a collection of papers and research reports presented at a conference that focused on mental health issues and on individual, organizational, and community competence in relation to institutional racism. The report is divided into five sections. Section 1 discusses theoretical models of racism and community competence (community effectiveness in providing support systems for the physical and psychosocial needs ot its members). Section 2 emphasizes the importance of considering cultural pluralism in examining racism, provides a basis for understanding the cultural development and problems of minority groups, and suggests ways in which human services may serve diverse populations. Section 3 explores how forms of institutional racism vary in different settings, such as business, education, mental health, and the community as a whole, and suggests what might be done to reduce racism in particular contexts. Section 4 describes different approaches and instruments for measuring racism. Finally, section 5 presents various interventions for reducing racism in organizations, in education, and in the community. (Author/MJL)

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Institutional Racism and Community Competence

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
Public Health Service • Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration

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Institutional Racism and Community Competence

Edited by
Oscar A. Barbarin,
Paul R. Good, O. Martin Pharr, and Judith A. Siskind

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
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FOREWORD

Racism in the United States is a product of centuries of subordination of Asian-Americans, blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians and Alaskan Natives. Only in recent years steps have been taken to rectify past discriminatory actions.

What impact this racism has had on the mind of man cannot yet be fully known, since research dealing with racism has been underrepresented as a proportion of the total work in the mental health field. Frequently, racial aspects of mental health have been either ignored or underplayed to the point of abandonment.

Today, the National Institute of Mental Health's Center for Minority Group Mental Health Program supports research into racism and mental health with particular attention to identification of the deleterious psychosocial consequences of racism for the entire population and to development of specific interventions designed to reduce racist attitudes and behaviors.

This publication is one of a continuous series by the Center reporting the results of research and work in the field. The workshop reported in this publication was supported through a grant from the Center's Racism and Mental Health Section. The workshop provided for a unique exchange of research findings by scholars and practitioners concerned with mental health and the elimination of institutional racism. We believe that this volume will assist many other mental health practitioners and social scientists who wish to know more about these issues.

Increasing understanding in order to root out and to eliminate racism is indeed a worthy objective for all Americans. No other single issue in domestic affairs has more profound implications regarding America's success in achieving its ideals.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Oscar A. Barbarin

This book is the product of several years of work, beginning with the planning for the Sixth Annual Community-Clinical Workshop, "Institutional racism: Impediment to community competence," conducted November 4, 5, and 6, 1976, in Lanham, Maryland. The workshop was sponsored by the Clinical-Community Program, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland, College Park, and supported with funds from grant 3R13MH28827-01 provided by the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs of the National Institute of Mental Health (DHHS).

The workshop was intended to provide citizens, professionals, and scholars with specific skill training and exposure to mental health issues connected with institutional racism. The workshop included theoretical papers, research presentations, and skill training sessions. It was unique in that it provided a forum for national experts, students, frontline workers, administrators, regional and local professionals, and citizens to discuss institutional racism. The diversity of perspectives brought to the conference provided an opportunity for using the special skills, knowledge, and resources of each to enrich the experience of all. This book is intended to reflect the range of ideas presented and developed, by both presenters and participants. We hope that this richness of thought has not been lost through translation in the final product.

The book takes the perspective that institutional racism is one of the most critical and pervasive mental health issues facing this Nation today. Few systematic and empirical studies have been undertaken to investigate the dimensions, processes, and outcomes of institutional racism. Most of the current work in this area is theoretical, descriptive, or analytical. These analyses constitute an important first step toward elucidating the causes and effects of institutionalized racism, but they do not go far enough in terms of providing a solid foundation on which to build effective change strategies. A major deficiency of most of the current work on racism is its focus on individual attitudes, perceptions, and relationships, without enough consideration given to the organizational or community roles in racial discrimination. For example, Simpson and Yinger (1972) and Jones (1980) describe prejudice and discrimination primarily in terms of individual and interpersonal processes. Simpson and Yinger (1972) review in some detail strategies for reducing racism, but these strategies are limited to the modification of individual attitudes and to personality change. Katz (1975) presents research and analyzes theoretical approaches to studying racism. However, attention to institutional factors in racism is limited to one outstanding chapter on Federal laws and policies affecting discrimination. Knowles and Prewitt (1969) devoted an entire volume to the topic of institutional racism and examined the manner in which racist practices currently operate in institutions of American society (viz., business, education, politics, justice, health care). The book holds the distinction of being a pioneer in taking a scholarly approach to institutional racism, but it lacks a coherent framework or sophisticated theory by which to organize its assertions. In one instance, the authors propose that institutional racism can only be ameliorated through the organized efforts of white activists challenging white support of oppressive practices in our society. Although this analysis is clearly an effort to place the onus of change on whites, it is simplistic in that it fails to recognize the complexity and sometimes unintentional aspects of institutional racism. Pettigrew (1975) represents a serious and scholarly effort to present empirical evidence of institutional discrimination. His volume comprehensively assesses major institutions of social systems which play a central role in our lives. Housing, employment, and education are examined in detail, and their interdependent effects are demonstrated clearly. Although the interrelation between these systems is well articulated, it seems important to move toward an integrated framework for conceptualizing institutional racism. Sedlacek and Brooks (1976) attempt to do just that, but their analysis of institutional racism is relevant only to educational settings.

Willie, Kramer, and Brown (1973) challenge the mental health profession to refine their knowledge of the relationship between racism and mental health. In their work they present a collection of treatises which provides illustrations of the best available thinking in this area. In effect, they underscore a need for a well-organized conceptual framework with a high degree of specificity, capable of pointing to interventions which hold promise for effectiveness in an organizational or community setting.

The present volume attempts to move a step beyond the limitations discussed here. Much of this work is inchoate and requires additional refinement and development. It is hoped that the ideas contained in this volume will stimulate the interest of other researchers and scholars and lead to additional contributions to the complex phenomenon of racism, especially as it relates to mental health. To improve our understanding of institutional racism, attention is given to a discussion of current theoretical models and approaches to institutional racism and community effectiveness. In addition, this work examines institutional racism as it manifests itself across a variety of organizational and environmental contexts. Moreover, it is acknowledged that a theoretical description alone is not sufficient to achieve the goals intended. Methods of assessment which are capable of providing direction to actions intended to alter institutional racism are also discussed. Thus, the book covers topics related to theory, assessment, and intervention.

This work is based on the premise that there exists in this country an inequitable distribution of resources: financial, education, health, and social status. The notion of community effectiveness is central to our understanding of racism. This relationship is based on the link between discrimination, poverty, and effective functioning. Institutional racism results in a disproportionate number of minorities subsisting on inadequate incomes; as a consequence, they are subjected to the multiple stresses which accompany poverty (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958). The effects of discrimination are cyclical and self-perpetuating. For example, segregation in housing confines a large proportion of minority individuals to decaying urban neighborhoods or isolated rural communities, where limited resources diminish their capacities to deal with life problems and render them even more vulnerable to despair. Not surprisingly, this has negative effects on the self-esteem of minorities and impairs their ability to cope effectively with the day-to-day stresses to which they are subjected. Institutional racism, as described here, shows a connection between systematic discrimination and individual vulnerability to mental illness. The proposed conceptual framework draws upon competence perspectives which incorporate both individual and community levels. This approach assumes that a comprehensive definition of mental health and effectiveness in coping is essential to understanding general human functioning.

Relating these perspectives to the functioning of large social systems allows one to view the mental health of the community as measurable in terms of a community's ability to engage in problem solving (Iscoe 1974). The ability to deal with life management and the normative or developmental crises, such as identity formation, school adjustment, vocational choice, marriage, and aging, is contiguous with one's ability to handle periods of severe and unexpected crises such as prolonged unemployment.

Racism maintains an imbalance in resources needed to deal adequately with even the normal problems of living. Consequently, the development of coping skills that characterize healthy adjustment to life is made increasingly difficult. To appreciate the impact of institutional racism on the competence of communities, it is necessary to review existing notions of institutional racism. Such a review may clarify how racism operates and how it can be defined in terms of community effectiveness.

Knowles and Prewitt (1969) sketch what they consider to be the central features of institutional racism, i.e., the use of race to determine the distribution of benefits from our society. The primary basis of racism is the historical belief that whites are superior. From this belief flows discrimination in education, business, and other social institutions. Feagin (1975), is an excellent conceptual work, defines two categories of institutional racism: direct and indirect. Direct institutional racism refers to a set of policies whose intent is discriminatory, as in the case of "Jim Crow" laws and informal agreements among realtors to restrict housing to whites only. Indirect racism refers to policies or practices which have a negative impact on minorities, even when these policies are not intended to produce racially discriminatory effects. Examples of indirect racism are personnel selection by standardized exams and the use of "word of mouth" to recruit employees. Indirect racism can

also occur as a side effect of direct racism by another institution (e.g., racism in housing leads to segregated schools) or as the result of previous racism. For example, use of seniority as the primary basis of promotions or other job-related benefits may be discriminatory not because the current policy is racist but because minority workers fail to meet seniority requirements due to exclusion from employment in the past. Institutional racism is not confined to racial discrimination alone but may come in many forms: economic discrimination (Diaz-Guerro 1962), insensitivity to special needs of minorities (Garcia 1971), distorted characterization of minorities by mass media (Martinez 1969; Morales 1971), and provision of inadequate or inferior services to minorities (Morales 1971). Although racism may take several forms, there are a few key social systems that appear central in discussing institutional racism: mental health (Palomares 1971; Fiman 1975; Senn and Sawyer 1971), education (Howe 1970), government (Fiman et al. 1975), and business (Molotch and Wolf 1975). Most efforts to reduce racism are directed at one or more of these four systems. These interventions focus on modifications of attitudes or structural and fiscal change using advocacy, planning, confrontation, information dissemination, or community development methods. A Community Competence Model can provide a basis on which to organize an understanding of institutional racism and methods of intervention.

Community competence refers both to the ability of social systems to respond adaptively to the differential needs of the varied populations they serve and to the ability of citizens or groups to use existing resources or develop alternatives for the purpose of solving problems of living. Institutional racism can be said to exist where the social systems of a community are less competent with respect to serving its minority populations than its nonminority constituents. As a consequence, groups may differ in their ability to meet their personal needs by accessing or negotiating the resources of that community.

Institutional racism acts as a barrier to the development of community competence in that the systems are neither cognizant nor responsive to cultural differences. This book discusses the cultural perspectives of Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans and Latinos. Emphasis is placed on what is unique to each group and how service providers in the community can respond to that uniqueness. On the other side of the coin, it is also important that minority groups increase their system skills, i.e., their ability to negotiate community systems so that they can effect changes in the way the systems behave toward them. An increase of community competence requires a two-fold focus:

- An awareness on the part of community agencies about the cultural diversity brought to a community by different minority groups
- A minimal level of sophistication on the part of minority group members concerning ways to access and to make systems more responsive to their needs

As the book is intended to develop the concept of community competence as it relates to institutional racism, it is structured to cover the major themes relevant to both. For that reason, Section I covers theoretical models of racism and community competence, reviews data related to institutional racism, and provides the foundation or background needed to understand approaches to intervention.

Section II, Cultural Diversity and Racism, underscores the need of a position of cultural pluralism in thinking about racism, especially important because institutional racism may have different effects from one racial or ethnic group to another. Community competence emphasizes the need to respond flexibly to the varied needs of the populations that make up a community. This section provides a basis for understanding the historical and cultural development of several minority groups which, in turn, contributes to an appreciation of the special difficulties they encounter in dealing with other ethnic groups. Many human service systems have limited effectiveness because they aim to treat all people in exactly the same manner, ignoring the diverse needs or perspectives of minority groups. An objective of this section is to show cultural differences and, by inference, to suggest ways in which human services may respond to the diversity of the people it serves.

Section III, Organizational and Environmental Perspectives, emphasizes that racism is not a univocal concept, i.e., racism cannot be defined in exactly the same way for each setting in which it occurs. Because institutional racism has different forms, depending on the organizational context, it seems important to understand exactly how racism varies across settings.

Section IV describes approaches to assessment and section V describes interventions. Individuals concerned about the effects of racism on communities have long expressed their impatience with the theories and definitions of racism which have little practical use. For that reason, we include descriptions of assessment procedures and intervention. This section describes interventions such as advocacy training and Federal efforts to reduce racism. It is clear that the technology for assessment of and intervention in racism has not yet reached a high level of sophistication. The efforts reported here represent initial steps.

In summary, the themes in the book center around the relationship between institutional racism and individual, organizational, and community competence. Theories and models of racism are reviewed, with special emphasis given to the relationship between racism and mental health. In addition, the current state of knowledge about intervention and racism or techniques commonly used to eliminate racism are discussed.

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Section I

Theoretical Models of Racism and Community Competence: Overview

The chapters comprising section I of *Institutional Racism and Community Competence* present theoretical analyses of the subject. Chapter 2 describes a model of institutional racism which borrows heavily from an individual systems approach. The notion of community competence emphasizes differential effectiveness of communities with respect to whites and nonwhites. By way of illustration, chapter 2 reviews major systems, such as education, health care delivery, employment, and housing, to demonstrate how these social institutions have been relatively more effective with whites than nonwhites. This model of institutional racism, in contrast to economic and political models, is essentially a service-delivery model which views individuals, groups, and community service systems as part of a mutually influential matrix or network. To the extent that these institutions are effective in accomplishing their mission, they enhance the ability of individuals to cope with life problems; social institutions facilitate the competence of individuals and groups in their community.

In chapter 3, Padilla takes a slightly different perspective, viewing minority and nonminority communities as systems unto themselves. Padilla describes the impediments which add to the difficulty of competent functioning by minority communities—sheer survival is a mark of competence.

Both chapters reflect current thinking on institional racism but take their analyses a step farther in providing a conceptual framework for understanding how diverse forms of institutional racism affect behavior and quality of life of minority and nonminority peoples. Institutional racism presents a challenge to the competence of minority peoples and to the competence of major social systems in general.

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Chapter 2

Community Competence: An Individual Systems Model of Institutional Racism

Oscar A. Barbarin

ABSTRACT

Although largely ignored by social scientists, institutional racism is a pervasive social problem. This chapter reviews and analyzes models of racism, particularly institutional racism. Institutional racism is described in terms of organizational processes, behaviors, policies, or procedures which produce negative outcomes for minorities while maintaining the status or economic advantages of nonminorities. Since institutional racism is subtle, inadvertent, and indirect, the intention to discriminate is not viewed as a necessary condition. To the contrary, racism is said to exist whenever natural and predictable discriminatory effects occur. Because institutional racism is often indirect, its detection frequently depends on inductive or attributional processes. Psychosocial theories of community effectiveness are used to propose an interactionist model of racism. According to this model, differential effectiveness of community systems with respect to minority and nonminority groups constitutes prima facie evidence of racism. Racism exists when major community systems fail to provide equitably for the diverse needs of minority groups. Evidence of differential effectiveness is presented from several major social systems: housing, education, employment, health, and mental health. Finally, the role of the individual and the system in promoting competence is addressed.

There is an increasing acceptance of the role which the psychological sciences can play in assessing and remediating major social problems. Indeed, over the past 10 years, social scientists have escalated their efforts to understand the effects of social factors, such as racism, on individual well-being. Along with this trend has come a community interest in psychology which is linked specifically to a concern for the poor, especially people of color, who are disproportionately represented at the lowest socioeconomic levels (Rappaport 1977). Concern about the effects of institutional racism is closely associated with commitment to social justice, to the development and support of cultural diversity in communities, and to the enrichment of the quality of life for economically disadvantaged populations.

Historical patterns of racial prejudice have placed unwarranted obstacles in the path of nonwhites who seek a better life. Racial antagonisms have disrupted and marred relationships between whites and nonwhites to such an extent that the functioning of both groups has been impaired. Interracial relationships have frequently been characterized by distrust, fear, and mutual avoidance. As a consequence, the range of opportunities and life choices of nonwhites has been severely restricted. Thus racial discrimination constitutes a major impediment to the psychological well-being of both minorities and whites, while preventing significant improvement in the quality of life for nonwhites.

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Conceptions of Racism

Discriminatory behavior is often distinguished from discriminatory attitudes. The term "prejudice" is used to refer to attitudes or beliefs of an individual, which typically involve unfavorable, stereotypical thinking based on identification of others with a negatively valued racial, ethnic, or religious group. However, "racial discrimination" refers to the *behavioral* outcome of prejudice by which individuals are denied equal access to jobs, education, housing, or benefits available to others. Moreover, racism is a broad concept that incorporates both attitudes and behaviors. It refers to the cognitive, affective, or behavioral processes of an individual or institution which lead to negative outcomes for members of less favored groups. In effect, advantages and privileges of a society, community, or organization are dispensed differentially

by racial status. The effect of this process extends beyond the interpersonal arena to economic, political, and educational spheres. One of the effects of racism is an abridgment of privileges and rights normally accorded white community members (Simpson and Yinger 1974). Taking this analysis a step further, Secord and Backman (1964) postulate that racist processes are self-perpetuating: Cross-racial interactions which occur in a context of prejudice are designed to support and maintain the unequal distribution of power, status, and privileges and thereby reaffirm the status quo. As a consequence, prejudiced attitudes become institutionalized, and the discriminatory effects of these attitudes create social conditions which substantiate the very attitudes which initiated the cycle. In this way, attitudes toward nonwhite groups acquire a normative character. For example, confirming evidence of the inferiority of nonwhites is found in low academic achievement, low income, concentration in menial occupations, underemployment, and substandard housing—all products of discrimination. These phenomena provide the discriminating individual with validating evidence for distorted beliefs and feelings about nonwhites. In this way, the victims of discrimination are held responsible for the consequences of racial prejudice. In addition, the subjugation of peoples of color is maintained by the economic and status gains that accrue to whites, especially those who must compete with nonwhites for limited resources and rewards. Racial discrimination results in the stigmatization of an individual or group on the basis of physical characteristics (for example, color of the skin); socially meaningful and invidious distinctions are made, which reflect personal attitudes or cultural values (Goffman 1963).

Over the past 30 years, analyses of racism have moved from a concentration on individual or interpersonal processes to a focus on systems or organizational variables which maintain racist outcomes. Within this period, a sophisticated understanding of the complex workings of racism has evolved. Chesler (1976) summarized several common approaches to describing racism:

(1) victim blame perspective (cf. Ryan 1971), emphasizing the role of minority group characteristics which result from cultural deprivation

(2) a focus on pathological aspects of the racist's personality

(3) attribution of blame to cultural values or ideologies

(4) a view of racism as a means of preserving the economic and social status quo

(5) the study of political processes of colonialism in which conquest, economic exploitation, and political control are justified by the supposed "dependency" of the colonized people

A somewhat different focus emerging from a social psychological approach to organizations emphasizes social climate or the "personality of organizations" (Moos 1976) as a relevant dimension in understanding racism. Therefore, one might add to Chesler's list:

(6) organizational climates, policies, and/or practices which are conducive to racism

Assessments of racism from the victim's perspective focus on cognitive, affective, or behavioral responses of nonwhites to racism. For example, the importance of racism as a factor in the psychosocial development of minorities is underscored by Clark and Clark (1947), who suggest that racism has detrimental effects on the identity and social behavior of Afro-Americans. Specifically, he postulates that Afro-American children internalize the low estimate of their worth held by whites. This sense of inferiority in black children manifests itself in low self-confidence, lack of motivation, and aggressive behavior (Clark 1965). Other effects of racism are described by social scientists (e.g., Lewis 1966) as products of "cultures of poverty" which lead to low academic achievement, behavioral maladjustment, delinquency, and disorganized family life. In such cultures, fathers are either absent or rendered impotent by their inability to provide for and protect their families. Taking a similar point of view, Curtis (1975) describes the outcome of racism in terms of the development of a contraculture with values and life perspectives different from those of the predominant white society. This contraculture promotes criminal and sometimes violent behavior. In the end, the effect of racism on its victims is much more than the inequitable distribution of resources or a difference in the importance attached to being white or nonwhite. Racism also affects the environment in which peoples of color must live, creating an unending cycle which traps them in a position of powerlessness.

Personality and Racism

Investigations of racism at the individual level typically focus on the personality traits associated with prejudiced beliefs. Racists are characterized by inflexible patterns of thinking and an authoritarian and domineering approach to relationships with others. Psychodynamic formulations depict racists as rigid, insecure, with conflicts, and with a tendency to project feelings of inadequacy onto others. Similarly, individual racism has been described as a personality deficit in which individuals maintain self-worth through cognitive, perceptual, or affective distortions. Thus, racial prejudice may serve as a defense for those who experience personal or status insecurity. Secord and Backman (1964) relate racism to frustration/aggression and scapegoating of nonwhites. In addition, racism may be associated with an inability to tolerate ambiguity, in that stereotypic thinking provides a predetermined framework for perceiving and evaluating nonwhites. Furthermore, individual racism may be associated with conformity or acquiescence to widely held social norms regarding racial interaction. Racists seek to maintain social approval by subscribing to prejudicial attitudes consistent with the beliefs of peers.

Subtle Forms of Racism

Discriminatory behavior may result from attitudes which may not constitute prejudice, *in se*. For example, Katz (1976) suggests that individual racist behavior may originate from subtle attitudes such as reaction to perceived racial threats, symbolic racism, and tokenism. Perceived racial threats result from the belief that peoples of color will usurp the advantaged position of whites once they move beyond the physical confines of ghettos and out of the status roles to which they have been historically restricted. Feelings of threat are heightened when nonwhites transgress acceptable neighborhood, marital, and educational boundaries. In these instances, whites may fear that minorities threaten the integrity of their community by causing an increase of crime, bringing harm to themselves or to their children, or significantly decreasing the quality of education available in their predominantly white schools. Symbolic racism is not as well focused as perceived racial threats in that it relates to generalized beliefs that the actions of minority groups endanger the social, economic, political, and social order. Tokenism is a third form of subtle racism. In this case, whites accept and promote limited racial change, such as letting one person move into the block or one or two children attend an all-white school, but they resist when significant numbers of minorities seek to participate in a formerly all-white school, church, work, or neighborhood setting. Through tokenism, whites protect a sense of themselves as egalitarian but preclude meaningful change.

Institutional Racism

Relatively little attention has been given to organizational or system conceptions of racism. In one of the earliest accounts of institutional racism, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) distinguish overt and covert aspects of racism. Overt racism refers to observable behavior of a white individual or community directed against a nonwhite individual or community. Covert or institutional racism is subtle and not reducible to the actions of single individuals. Instead, institutional racism refers to organizational or system processes, behaviors, policies, or procedures, which produce negative outcomes for nonwhites relative to those for whites. Though subtle, institutional racism has a pervasive and clearly destructive impact on the lives of nonwhites. As a result, it erects self-sustaining barriers which restrict nonwhites to an unequal or disadvantaged position (Sabshin 1970). The outcome is accomplished by means of norms which serve to oppress minorities and foster their dependence on whites. Thus, organizations or community systems establish and sanction unequal status and on that basis provide unequal access to goods and services. In agreement with this point, Pettigrew (1975) describes institutional racism as "a process of exclusion against an outgroup on largely ascribed and particularistic grounds of group membership rather than on achieved and universalistic grounds of merit" (Pettigrew 1975, p. x). It is based on institutional arrangements which interfere with the number of alternatives available to nonwhites and, in turn, affects competence.

Intent and Culpability

A conceptual shift may be necessary if we are to move from an individual to an institutional definition of racism. To accomplish this shift, several questions must be answered. First, can institutional racism be assessed better by an analysis of interpersonal process in a setting or by measurement of

a definable outcome? Secondly, if institutional racism is characterized as an outcome, is it an objectively specifiable event, or is it an attribution of cause regarding undesirable events in the lives of nonwhites? (In the latter case, it may not be subject to independent verification.) Finally, is racism defined as a negative process or outcome which is intended?

It was argued earlier that interpersonal processes do not constitute a sufficient basis for defining institutional racism. For that reason, race-related differential outcomes resulting from institutional practices and policies are proposed as the primary determinants of racism. Thus, the central defining features are the *differential* and *negative* outcomes of these practices. In response to the second question, institutional racism may not in every case be an objectively specifiable and consensually validated phenomenon. For example, studies of a large organization show that, although there is general agreement about the objective fact of racial inequities in authority, job levels, and friendship patterns, whites generally attempt to explain these differences by factors other than racism per se (Poulard 1978). Because racism frequently involves an interplay of multiple factors, whites often use victim-blame factors such as education, motivation, or ability to explain differential negative outcomes for racial minority groups. It is likely that,

> when discrimination occurs it should be mediated by a subtle, indirect attitudinal process that insulates . . . [whites] from recognizing the extent to which their . . . [behavior] is motivated by antipathy toward blacks. It appears, then, that in a society in which egalitarianism is highly valued and actively professed, but in which socialization and structural influences frequently foster prejudice, the effects of racial attitudes may be very subtle.
>
> This attitudinal framework suggests that whites are more likely to discriminate against blacks in situations in which failure to respond favorably could be attributable to factors other than the person's race (Gaertner and Dovidio 1977, p. 693).

Because multiple factors may explain differentially negative outcomes and because most people are unable or unwilling to acknowledge their own racial practices, the existence of institutional racism cannot be proved in the strictest sense but must be inferred on the basis of observed differences in the treatment or status of whites and nonwhites. It is much easier to assess outcomes of institutional racism than to analyze the processes which produced them.

To infer the existence of institutional racism solely on the basis of racially different outcomes can be criticized because this approach may not be sufficiently discriminating. It may fail to exclude from the category of racism inadvertent and harmless activities leading to racially differential outcomes. The counterargument is that advertence or intentionality is not a necessary condition for institutional racism (Pettigrew 1975). Contrary to popular opinion, the Federal court, in at least one instance, has agreed with this point in ruling that differential outcomes, though unintended, provide sufficient evidence of discrimination. For example, in a school desegregation case (*U.S.* vs. *Omaha*), the presiding judge stated that intent can be presumed when a negative discriminatory effect is the "natural, probable and foreseeable consequence" of the action or inaction of an organization or system. Thus, the existence of institutional racism can be legitimately inferred from differentially negative outcomes through a process of induction. The court ruling adds to our description of the element of predictability of racially different outcomes and lack of responsiveness to predictable differences. Thus, attributions of racism or discrimination can be made with greater certainty when differentially negative outcomes exist for nonwhites and less than consequential efforts are made to alter the pattern of differences.

In summary, institutional racism can be attributed to situations in which social systems or organizations tend to be passive, acquiescent, or ineffective in responding to meaningful differences in the resources and life conditions of whites and nonwhites. The objective indices of institutional racism include inequitable outputs to whites and nonwhites and ineffective responses on the part of organizations or systems to the existence of such inequality. These two elements form the basis of the community competence model of racism. The model suggests that, when social systems are differentially effective with respect to whites and nonwhites, this ineffectiveness constitutes prima facie evidence of institutional racism.

Psychosocial Concepts of Community Effectiveness

To clarify the concept of community competence as a model of institutional racism, it is necessary to respond to two basic questions. What is community?

On what basis can its effectiveness be assessed? In response to the first question, early definitions of community emphasize its geopolitical nature. However, Dunham (1977) argues that a different basis must be used to depict accurately the nature of community life, now substantially altered by mass communication media, increased mobility of populations, regionalization of resources and of community governance, and the general breakdown of ties to local communities. Dunham suggests that the most viable notion of community today is one of *process* rather than physical locality. On the other hand, Warren defines community as the "total framework for living with a complex network of people, institutions, shared interests, and a sense of psychological belonging" (Warren 1975, p. 34). Community thus is defined as a "combination of social units and systems which perform major functions having local relevance" (loc. cit.). The community provides organization for social activities which afford people access to resources necessary in day-to-day existence. According to Warren, the five major functions of community are (a) production-distribution-consumption; (b) socialization, the transmission of prevailing knowledge of social values and behavior patterns to individual members; (c) social control, the influence of behavior of community members toward conformity with community norms; (d) social participation, opportunity for social interaction (frequently through church, business, voluntary work, public health and welfare agencies, or family friendship networks; and (3) mutual support-responsiveness to physical or psychosocial needs of community members, especially in times of crisis (Warren 1975).

Both the structure and processes of communities are relevant to understanding the impact of community functioning on the life of its members. Several different approaches have been taken to assess how the qualities of community life may enhance individual functioning. Thorndike and Woodward (1937) used "goodness" of community (as measured by per capita income, crime rate, and number of churches and services) to assess the quality of interaction between individuals and community systems. Other attempts at community assessment have used demographic, epidemiological, key informant, and survey approaches. However, a community should be assessed not only in terms of what it has (its resources—people and material) but also in terms of how it uses what it has (processes). Community processes are particularly relevant to the issue of institutional racism because the quality of community functioning indicates how well the community responds to the diverse needs of its members. Iscoe (1974) and Hurley, Barbarin, and Mitchell (this volume, chap. 14) use community competence to designate a culture or climate and a set of processes which are either facilitative or destructive of individual and collective functioning. The effectiveness of a community is related to the maintenance of its collective well-being. The dimensions along which a community's competence is evaluated are multiple. For example, Ley (1974) pinpoints stability, self-sufficiency, and mutual support as the critical factors determining a community's effectiveness. A sensitive index of community effectiveness is the degree of personal satisfaction with life in that community. However, the attainment of satisfaction can be attributed, in turn, to individual status or community attributes such as mutual support, cohesiveness, and responsiveness of social systems. In describing community competence, Iscoe (1974) gives added weight to personal factors, such as the skill, knowledge, and problem-solving capabilities of individual community members. Using this approach, an effective community would be one in which individuals possess well-developed abilities to acquire information about, and are able to use, community resources for solving their problems. Iscoe also treats as an index of community competence its members' ability to generate new resources when the available resources are inadequate. Although this analysis is useful, it presents only one dimension of community functioning; it does not address adequately the role of community systems (e.g., human service organizations). The development of an active problem-solving stance is in part dependent on the capacity and willingness of community systems to build on the capabilities and preferences of its citizens. Supporting this view, Kelly (1966) points specifically to the importance of the community system's providing to individuals a diversity of settings, roles, and opportunities for status. Similarly, Ley (1974) argues that a community system's ability to convey a sense of importance to its members by providing meaningful roles is critical to its effectiveness. In this way, community systems play an important role in enhancing community effectiveness. Social systems also contribute to community competence by providing resources in an equitable manner and by developing procedures compatible with the

problem-solving preferences of their members. This analysis suggests that individual and system factors both contribute to the quality of community life. Moreover, the manner in which the two factors interact is also an important determinant of community effectiveness (Murrell 1974). Particularly relevant are (1) the match between the problem-solving preferences of the individual and the resources provided by community systems; (2) informational feedback loops between individuals and systems which allow for adjustment by either side; and (3) advocacy or participatory processes. Adequacy across these three dimensions may be used to judge the overall effectiveness of a community.

In general, competent communities can be differentiated from less effective communities in that they have a network of informal support systems which are a central part of community life. Thus, in contrast to ineffective communities, competent communities are highly cohesive. A sense of satisfaction is maintained by an accepting and supportive climate. Furthermore, a competent community provides for the physical and psychosocial needs of its members through both formal and informal resources, maintaining an optimum balance between felt needs and available resources. Most of all, a competent community respects and incorporates the principle of cultural diversity in its attempts to address the needs of its members. In so doing, it provides for an equitable distribution of its resources by opening access to all of its members. It accepts and even promotes diversity in its members by providing them with a wide range of roles so that it can draw upon each member's and group's unique strengths. An important dimension to note here in relating community competence to racism is the principle of diversity of function and process. Warren (1975) has noted that blacks show distinct patterns of relating to community and to solving problems experienced in community settings. For example, blacks tend to rely more frequently on informal networks than on formal resources for problem solving. An acceptance of diversity in this case would lead to a concern about preserving and nurturing informal support networks in black communities.

Community Competence and Racism

Hurley (1977) and Barbarin, Mitchell, and Hurley (1977) describe a model of community functioning which emphasizes both individual and systems dimensions. Specifically, they focus on community culture and processes emphasizing the dual role of both individuals and systems. This model proposes that a community consists of individuals who form themselves into groups to meet their own personal needs in informal ways. Over time, they develop increasingly complex social systems for the purpose of providing formal resources needed to meet individual and collective needs. Thus, the community agents may be individuals, groups, or social systems (see figure 1).

The effectiveness of a community is a function of the skills, knowledge, and activity levels of individual members or groups on one hand and the capacities and resources of social systems on the other. The major social systems set limits, establish rules governing access to resources, and evolve patterns of service delivery to meet community needs. They also develop and use communication channels to disseminate to individuals information about the availability of resources. On the individual level, community members bring to this interaction their knowledge, problem-solving strategies, self-attitudes (e.g., self-esteem, confidence, etc.), and behavioral styles. The basis of community effectiveness is the individual-system match with respect to preferred behavioral styles and congruence of needs with resources. The ability of social systems to respond flexibly to the needs of diverse populations determines the effectiveness of those systems. Thus, inflexibility leads to differential effectiveness. The term "effectiveness" is applied to the many functions of social systems, e.g., provision of such services as health, education, and recreation, or guaranteeing economic stability through meaningful employment.

Clarification of this approach to describing institutional racism might be achieved by illustrating what is meant by differential effectiveness in several social systems (viz., housing, education, employment, and mental health). These systems are particularly relevant because differential effectiveness leads to low income, underemployment, and limited educational attainment, and they have devastating consequences for minority individuals, families, and their communities.

Housing. The differential effectiveness of community systems is nowhere more apparent than in housing. Pettigrew (1975) presents convincing statistical evidence of racial inequities in housing. For example, in 1970 only 38-42 percent of blacks

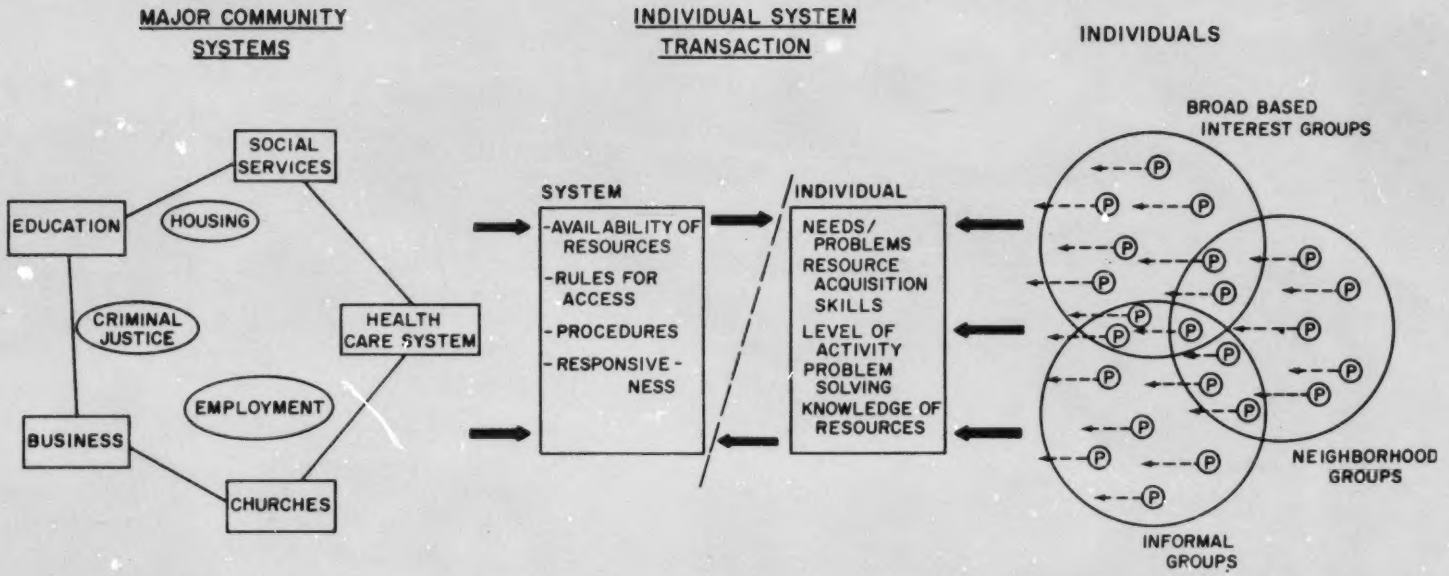

Figure 1. Individual-system model of community competence.

owned their own homes, as opposed to 65 percent of whites. At that time, the median value of homes owned by whites was 63 percent higher than the value of black-owned homes. Furthermore, both rental and owner-occupied housing available to minorities was consistently older and more densely inhabited than that available to whites. Until recently, minorities were concentrated in central city areas where housing stock ranged from fair to poor condition. This concentration existed either because minorities could not afford housing in more affluent areas or because discriminatory real estate practices limited their access to preferred neighborhoods. Further, suburban communities, fearful of a decline in home values, have resisted the location of low-income housing in their neighborhoods. As neighborhoods integrated, "white flight" often occurred and accelerated the deterioration of older marginal communities. Even worse, redlining of poor neighborhoods, especially minority neighborhoods, reduced the flexibility of minority families to seek housing better suited to their needs. This practice has also contributred to a more rapid deterioration of older and poorer neighborhoods because funds for necessary home improvement have not been available from financial institutions. Consequently, minority families are less likely to have their housing needs met.

Education. The community's ineffectiveness in providing for the housing needs of minority families correlates with its inability to provide adequate resources for the education of minority children. The Coleman Report (1966) points out that, after as many as 12 years following the Supreme Court's decision regarding school desegregation, there remained major inequities in the quality of education available to white and to nonwhite children. Discrepancies existed in the facilities, curriculum, teacher competence, and other factors related to the quality of the school experience. For example, Coleman's research showed that minority students had fewer facilities, such as science and language labs, books, libraries, and appropriate texts, than whites. Minority students had limited access to innovative curricula and enriching extracurricular activities.

Recent researchers have documented the continuation of such inequality. For example, inexperienced and unlicensed teachers have frequently been assigned to inner city schools (Berkowitz 1974). An additional source of racism in the schools is their failure to use material which reflects the historical contributions of nonwhites. This is especially unfortunate because the schools fail to take advantage of materials which might enhance the motivation of nonwhite children to engage in academic tasks (Sloan 1972). In addition, the diversity of language and linguistic forms introduced to the school system by bicultural and bilingual children adds an often overlooked facet to the educational process. Failure on the part of the schools to accommodate themselves to this source of diversity contributes to the likelihood of academic failure among bicultural children. Educators frequently ascribe linguistic deficits to Hispanics and to children from black urban areas. Baratz and Baratz (1970) argue that a cultural difference model is more applicable in describing the language of black children and, in fact, that the language spoken by these children constitutes a highly developed but different form of English. In the case of black English, almost no one suggests that children not develop a high level of competence in standard English, but many argue that the alternative linguistic forms used by blacks deserve respect. In the case of bicultural bilingual children, bilingual education seems essential.

Charges of racial discrimination have been particularly intense around the issue of standardized achievement and intelligence tests. Williams and Mitchell (1977) have argued that cultural bias endemic to most achievement intelligence tests render them useless for assessing the competence and skills of nonwhite youth. The major issue concerning the tests is that they appear to measure knowledge and experiences that are more readily available in a white, middle-class environment. As a result, when these tests are used to assess academic achievement or intelligence, nonwhite children score below standards. Similarly, when Graduate Record Examinations (GREs) are used to assess potential for professional education, minority students generally fail to score in the top decile. Currently, these tests serve to screen minorities out of opportunities for professional or graduate training. In other settings, test results may be used more for punitive than for rehabilitative purposes. A good example is the requirement of competence examinations for graduation, rather than diagnosis and remediation in early phases of education.

In addition, when minority children are diagnosed as mentally retarded or academically deficient, the resources needed for remediation often are not made available. Because the expectations

about the potential of these students are relatively low, they are placed in classrooms designed more to maintain discipline than to teach. Beeghley and Butler (1974) suggest that the results of standardized tests often lead to acquiescence in teachers. The failure of the schools to challenge students academically and the acceptance of low performance standards lead to ineffective functioning by students and schools. Failure to benefit from early educational experiences has consequences later in life, as reflected in the underrepresentation of minorities in higher education and in the professions. Brown and Stent (1975) indicate that the number of minorities in higher education is well below their percentage within the general population. Specifically, blacks constituted only 6.9 percent of the undergraduate enrollment in the United States in 1970, while they represented over 11 percent of the population. They earned only 5.2 percent of awarded bachelor degrees, and, of this group, 40 percent earned degrees from traditionally black colleges.

Health and Mental Health Services. The differential effectiveness of the health care delivery system for whites and nonwhites begins with prenatal care. The infant mortality rate is significantly higher for nonwhites, and the life expectancy for nonwhites, especially males, is significantly lower. From birth to death, minorities experience higher susceptibility to chronic diseases and health hazards than is generally true for nonminorities.

The failure of the health delivery system is also evident in the field of mental health. Because of their status as poor and minority, nonwhites experience many more sources of stress than nonminorities. In addition, Kiev (1973) points out that acculturation, migration, poverty, and experience of massive social change contribute to an increase in mental health risk for minorities. When mental health problems do arise, the services available are often inadequate and/or inappropriate. Thomas and Sillen (1972) have argued that racist preconceptions about intellectual inferiority and emotional immaturity of nonwhites continue to distort the psychiatric process from admissions to treatment and even affect the nature of the therapeutic relationship. Mental health centers serving minorities are typically understaffed and underbudgeted (Sabshin 1970). Moreover, prestigious university-based hospital treatment facilities have a virtual absence of minority patients in the psychiatric wards, even though these hospital settings are often located in or near large minority communities. The absence of minority patients is thought to be caused by the fact that minority populations view the white dominated institutions with suspicion, and the staff, in turn, do not consider minority patients to be good candidates for psychiatric treatment.

Psychological diagnosis has been most vulnerable to charges of racism. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* has been criticized from many quarters for its low reliability. Sabshin (1970) reports a study of the demographic and psychosocial characteristics of patients admitted to an inpatient unit of a community mental health center, which found that blacks were more often characterized as suspicious and as having complaints of persecution and more frequently diagnosed as having exaggerated symptoms than were whites. The study also suggested that linguistic factors, cognitive style, and appearance are likely to be misinterpreted and defined as pathological. The problem of diagnosis is exacerbated by a failure to understand and consider the effects on manifest symptoms of stresses resulting from poverty and discrimination. The effectiveness of the mental health service delivery system for nonwhites is greatly diminished when the diagnostic process exaggerates pathology and the case disposition process relegates nonwhites to less promising and less suitable forms of treatment.

Employment. Employment, because of its relationship to income, status, and accessibility to resources, is a major determinant of quality of life. For that reason it may be the single most important area affected by institutional racism. Differential income, status, and economic mobility provide a sensitive index of the negative influence of race discrimination on minorities and their families. Discrimination in employment may occur in several forms: (1) perceptions and attitudes of prejudice of personnel; (2) the setting aside of certain job assignments for one racial group, with the result that minorities occupy lower paying positions than their white counterparts; and (3) the introduction of biased judgments about the potential productivity of an individual, including the use of selection criteria irrelevant to productivity on a job, and the use of stereotyped assumptions about abilities (e.g., selecting a white over a nonwhite for a position in accounting because nonwhites are generally seen as poor in the area of mathematics (Heistand 1970).

The biases in selection and promotion result in disproportionately low representation of minorities

among draftsmen, foremen, or professionals and an overrepresentation in unskilled labor, service, and clerical jobs. As a consequence, the income of minority families is only 51-57 percent that of white families (Killingsworth 1972). Higher education fails to provide a buffer for nonwhites to the same extent that it does for whites, in that the unemployment rate for blacks with a college education is higher than among whites with only high school education. Furthermore, blacks are not afforded the same opportunity or income as whites with similar educational background. Although employers generally deny that discrimination is a factor in their employment practices, the comparative statistics on unemployment and underemployment for whites and peoples of color provide evidence to the contrary. When individual prejudices cannot account for racial differences, employment inequities may be attributable to institutional processes. Certainly, bias in the selection process is the most likely aspect of an institution to result in discrimination. However, the evaluation and promotion procedures are equally susceptible to racism. Recent EEO guidelines have focused attention on these areas, but few significant changes have occurred in the employment patterns described above.

In addition, Liebenson and Fuguitt (1967) argue that direct personal bias or discrimination is no longer needed to maintain employment bias. Even if racial discrimination in employment were eliminated, minorities would still hold jobs inferior to those of whites because of poorer education and training. Even when employment practices are judged to be "fair" they may provide unintended advantages to whites because of deficits in the training of non-whites. Thus, the results of discrimination in education spill over into the employment area. Minorities fall at the lowest rungs of the employment ladder. Even when nationwide unemployment is low, the lack of skills, the limited number of vocational role models, the absence of meaningful training programs, and a low level of information about openings in trade areas all contribute to the even greater underemployment of minorities.

Summary

On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that many human services and training organizations involved in employment, education, health, and mental health have yet to find a way to meet the needs of nonwhites. A cursory review of these effects suggests that they hold true across the entire lifespan of minorities from childhood to old age. The fact that these systems are differentially effective for whites and nonwhites suggests that institutional racism may be used accurately to characterize the outcomes of their operations (see table 1).

The application of a community competence model to institutional racism focuses primarily on differential effectiveness of social systems with respect to minorities and whites. Differential outcomes have been shown to exist in several domains of community life: housing, employment, education, and health care services delivery. The health care delivery system has been described as less effective for minorities than nonminorities, as reflected in higher infant mortality rates, higher incidence of chronic diseases, and lower life expectancy in nonwhites. The bulk of mental health services available to minorities can be described as inappropriate and subsequently underutilized. Those who do avail themselves of mental health services are viewed as more severely pathological and receive less skilled care than whites. In the area of education, differential effectiveness with respect to minorities is reflected in lower achievement levels, fewer resources, lower rates of admission to college, and lower rates of retention and graduation. Differential effects in employment are demonstrated by the concentration of nonwhites in low status jobs and high vulnerability to unemployment. Finally, community ineffectiveness is represented in unequal access to quality housing for nonwhites. Thus, the differential effectiveness of these major systems in meeting the needs of minorities constitutes a state of incompetence and evidence of institutional racism.

Individual-System Contributions

Using the concept community competence in this sense raises the question of responsibility. In whom does the incompetence reside? Who bears responsibility for the ineffectiveness? Minorities, both as individuals and as participants in social systems, have been indicted for these outcomes. Individualists find it easy to blame minorities' lack of skills and/or motivation for their own plight. Such a position assumes that inequities in education, housing, or employment are the consequence of individ-

Table 1. Forms of institutional racism across settings

HOUSING
- Redlining, concentration of low-income housing in central cities/refusal by major companies to insure inner-city area, exclusionary zoning
- Restriction of nonwhites to specific neighborhoods; exclusion by informal real estate practices
- Significantly fewer minority homeowners (40 percent vs. 65 percent in 1970)
- Minority homes values less than homes of whites, i.e., median value of minority homes less than that of whites—$12,000 vs. $19,600 (30 percent of minority homes, 61 percent white homes valued at more than $15,000)
- Black-owned homes older (59 percent vs. 45 percent built before 1950)
- Minority renters live in older homes (70 percent vs. 59 percent built before 1950) and pay a larger percentage of their gross income for housing
- Smaller percentage of minority housing had full plumbing than did whites (83 percent vs. 95 percent for whites)
- Minorities experience greater overcrowding (20 percent vs. 7 percent)
- Ingrained patterns of racial segregation

EMPLOYMENT IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY
- Discrimination in selection, retention, promotion
- Use of test for selection on which nonwhite peoples do poorly
- Lack of incentives for those on public welfare to work
- Emphasis is given to seniority in job promotions
- Concentration of nonwhites in low-paying, unskilled jobs
- Unemployment rates for nonwhites double those of whites
- Income of minorities is 57 percent of whites
- Minorities with equal education get lower status/lower income jobs than whites
- The conduct of important business through the "club" or "Ole Boy" network which is the bailiwick of white males

EDUCATION
- Inferior, substandard education provided to nonwhites
- Concentration of nonwhites in special education
- Low performance on standardized achievement tests
- Failure to reflect contributions and culture of nonwhites in curriculum
- Lower admission and retention rates of minorities than whites in higher education

GOVERNMENT
- Inadequate resources for minority related programs—EEO, SBA
- Failure to enforce EEO guidelines
- Minorities concentrated in low-paying jobs
- Lack of job mobility for minorities
- Failure to use minority contract firms in procurement of goods or services

HEALTH
- Maldistribution of health care resources
- Two times as many black babies die in first month of life as whites
- Minorities considered poor candidates for psychotherapy
- Black psychiatric patients are less likely than whites to receive treatment in the early stages of mental illness

CRIMINAL JUSTICE—LAW ENFORCEMENT
- Proportionately more minority males than white males incarcerated
- Frequent run-ins with police lead to negative attitudes toward police
- Few minority personnel in criminal justice system

ual deficits. On the other side of the issue, environmental determinists cite social systems as the major culprit. The position taken here does not seek to minimize the role of the individual in developing and maintaining competence. While acknowledging personal responsibility in this regard, the role of social systems in producing this differentially negative outcome for minorities must not be underestimated. Thus, neither the individual nor the system alone assumes responsibility. Both require attention if the cycle of ineffectiveness is to be broken. This is especially true in the case of those on the lowest rung of the socioeconomic ladder. It is they who have fewest resources and suffer the most incapacitating consequences of institutional racism.

The interrelationship between individual and system factors promoting community competence is underscored by *Washington Post* reporter Lewis Simons:

> Simmering bitterness born of frustration is spreading through the dank hallways and dirt courtyards of Washington's public housing developments where some of the poorest of the city's poor live. "The system," they say, "is intended to fail and to make failures of those who depend upon it." For blacks, and the poor in Washington are almost always black, say they are frustrated and angry by the failure of hard-won civil rights to evolve in economic rights; . . . by the failure of the welfare system to provide a stepping stone up from poverty (Simons 1978, p. 1).

Simons goes on to suggest that poverty here may have an even more debilitating effect than it does in a place like India where poverty is absolute, touching everyone.

> But people here know that there is a better life that could, just might, be theirs. It's across the line in the suburbs, it's on television, but it's not theirs in the housing project. This is perhaps what makes poverty more painful than it is in a place like India. It's more poverty of the spirit than of the

> body. Few go hungry, few admit that they are poor, yet as one resident of the project said of one of her children, "When he asks me for two dollars for something he's seen on T.V. and I just don't have the two bucks, I get a pain, a real pain, here in my chest." A pain in the chest. Many people in the project speak of this kind of thing, a great emptiness. "They call us savages," said another resident, "and that's why they put us here on these reservations. There is that kind of atmosphere in the housing projects, isolated and set apart from the beautiful city most people think about as the Capitol of their country." (Ibid).

This report and the words of the people quoted here speak eloquently and accurately of the complex personal and institutional factors which produce community incompetence.

The manner in which an individual allocates responsibility for community incompetence to the individual or system may say more about that individual than about the reality of the situation. Attributions of cause and responsibility for behavior are mediated by social-psychological processes (affecting minority and nonminority alike) related to perceptions of the agent as similar or dissimilar. For example, when people perceived as similar are effective in dealing with a task, we are inclined to attribute their success to intrinsic or individual factors (e.g., they are smart or worked hard). However, when individuals similar to us are *not* successful, we tend to externalize the blame for their failure (they were unlucky). Conversely, when individuals seen as dissimilar to ourselves succeed at a task we tend to attribute their success to external factors and to attribute their failure to their deficits. Attributions of responsibility to minorities for the negative outcomes they experience may be interpreted as a subtle form of discrimination. Specifically, when nonwhites fail to achieve in areas of education or employment, whites may be inclined to attribute this to laziness or lack of initiative, intelligence, and perseverance, or sometimes more benignly to poor socialization and poverty. When responsibility for the condition of minorities is attributed to individual factors, the social system in question is able to exonerate itself and does not feel compelled to change itself to remedy the situation.

Community Competence and Racism

Institutional racism is related to organizational dysfunction. Organizations are created for specific purposes that are often related to production or service delivery. The effectiveness of an organization is linked to its ability to use its resources efficiently and to react flexibly in the face of changing internal or environmental circumstances. Moreover, an effective, viable organization becomes increasingly differentiated as it adapts to internal and external changes. As one of its components shifts, other parts will adapt to the different perspectives brought to it by new and diverse populations. Following the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation and subsequent Civil Rights legislation, minority group members have had increasing mobility crossing the boundaries of communities, organizations, and institutions from which they had been barred. Institutions characterized as racist have been rendered ineffective by their failure to adapt their traditional ways in order to accommodate to these new elements. This results in part from the failure to recognize that minority group members bring with them different needs and strategies of problem solving. Too frequently, these differences are minimized, ignored, denied, or openly opposed. Ironically, the increased diversity made available by the addition of minority group members, providing the potential for growth and a healthy differentiation for the institution, becomes a source of conflict and self-destructive stagnation. The outcome then is undesirable for everyone, minority and nonminority alike. In summary, institutional racism might be described as (1) a failure to integrate the diverse perspectives brought to it by minority group members; (2) reluctance or inability to alter historical patterns of service provision; and (3) a low level of awareness by institutional agents of the special needs of all of its members. On an individual level, such a community or institution is perceived as inefficient, hostile, and nonresponsive and is treated with a mixture of distrust and anger by minority group members. Minorities feel that they are not welcome and that their existence is not significantly reflected in the community. Minority needs go unmet, their perspectives unrecognized.

Performance on an institutional level might be described as involving systems skills. Systems skills are related to the capacity of individuals to use resources available in a system to meet their needs and to solve individual and collective problems. Thus, on the community level, an indication of the level of an individual's system skill is the extent to which he or she has knowledge of and is able to use the community's resources. Skill level is also indi-

cated by the manner in which the individual evaluates those resources. System skills, then, are related to the individual's knowledge of the system's resources, leadership structure, communication channels, and the manner in which the individual uses and evaluates that system.

Conversely, each system or community has a cardinal responsibility to enhance its members' ability to manipulate and use its available resources. A community or organization is seen as competent to the extent it enables all its members to develop high levels of systems skills. An institution or system might be described as racist when it is inflexible, failing to change in order to meet the specific and unique needs of minority groups. Such an institution neither provides an atmosphere of acceptance nor makes accessible its current resources. The competent community, on the other hand, might be described as an effectively functioning organization which makes room for diversity, responds adaptively and equitably to needs as they emerge from each segment of the community, and enhances the ability of its members to use its resources. It is one in which alienation is diminished by the active participation of all in establishing goals and directing group actions. Accordingly, its resources are matched with those of its members. It is clear from such a definition that an increase in community competence leads to a decrease in racism.

The model of community competence described above calls attention to the level of effectiveness of larger social systems in meeting the basic physical and psychological needs of minority groups. Community competence is a relative, rather than an absolute, construct. It is recognized that no system is perfectly effective or competent with respect to all its people. However, racism may be inferred when a social system develops more effective ways to deal with the problems of whites than those of nonwhites. However, an approach that is weighted entirely toward victim blame or system blame only escalates the rhetorical exchanges.

The interactionist approach advocated in this chapter allows one to examine objectively those problems that result from the specific way in which the individual and system deal with each other. Three aspects of the interactionist approach to community competence ought to be noted. First, it stresses the importance of corrective feedback loops through which information can be transmitted from individual to system and vice versa. Frequently, the larger social systems which are responsible for serving minority groups lack the mechanism or the ability to establish a link with the minority community members whom they serve (e.g., maximum feasible participation in program planning). Participatory decisionmaking may result in both the individual and the system feeling responsible for control over the outcomes produced by the system and for commitment to those outcomes. A second element emphasized by a community competence model for understanding racism is the need to match the problem-solving preferences and dispositions of minority communities with the types of solutions made available by the larger social systems. The result of a poor match is that individuals in the community are unable to use the resources, and the social system is unable to achieve its goals. Finally, the model emphasizes the fact that minority communities are diverse. This diversity must be welcomed and utilized in the normal functioning of community systems.

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Chapter 3

Competent Communities: A Critical Analysis of Theories and Public Policy*

Amado M. Padilla

ABSTRACT

Competence implies capability and fitness, while community means a body of people having common interests and organizations. The competent community then consists of a group of capable people fit to organize and carry out its mutual interests. In carrying out its interests, the community must synchronize its activities with the larger society within which it co-exists. For most communities this does not represent a problem. There are communities, however, that find it difficult, if not virtually impossible, to achieve their interests and goals within the context of the larger society. These communities can be found in every part of this country and consist of people who share at least one common element: They are easily identifiable by the color of their skin. People of color—blacks, Hispanics, Asian- and Native Americans—constitute a sizable proportion of the total U.S. population. My purpose here is to show how these people, in spite of practices and policies that are clearly discriminatory, have maintained cultural and institutional coherence.

Many have written about the barriers, overt and covert, which prevent individuals, as well as entire communities, from achieving their interests. These barriers have been discussed under the labels of "prejudice" (Allport 1954; Bettelheim and Janowitz 1950; Harding, Kutner, Proshansky, and Chein 1954; Jones 1972; Knowles and Prewitt 1969). This literature leads to a single conclusion: In spite of the often-insurmountable barriers that have been erected around some minority communities, their sheer survival is testimony to their competence. It is this competence that is under examination here. To provide a framework for this examination, we first present an overview of minority groups in the United States. Then, we examine social science paradigms and how these paradigms have been used in researching minority communities. Finally, the role of social science research in public policy is discussed.

Being "Colored" in America

Slavery, the forced subjugation of an entire race by large segments of American majority society, is the most chilling and obvious testimony to what it means to be "colored" in this country. Emancipated for over 100 years, the black men and women of this country are not free. Blacks continue to experience the bondage of slavery, even though today its manifestations are disguised by subtle policies and laws which maintain the black community in a perpetual state of poverty and misery.

On another front, Native Americans have witnessed the systematic annihilation of members of their community. The Native American population, estimated at 1-3 million when Columbus "discovered" America, currently stands at about one-half million—up from a turn of the century low of about 260,000. Methodically, and without compassion, Native Americans have been forced to abandon their lands and confined to reservations in some of this country's bleakest and most isolated spots. Not until 1924, almost 150 years after the establishment of the United States, were these original Americans granted citizenship through the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Law. Suffering from malnutrition, high rates of infant mortality, undereducation, unemployment, higher rates of certain diseases (e.g., tuberculosis), and staggering rates of alcoholism and suicide, these Americans are still viewed as anthropoligical curiosities. It is also important to note the negative impact that schooling has had for Native Americans. No other

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group of people in this country has had their school-age children forcibly removed from home and sent to boarding schools. These Indian schools were originally designed to acculturate the children. We can only wonder how many children and families were destroyed in the name of education.

Sharing with the Native American the dubious distinction of having been conquered by the majority group, Mexican Americans, who now number approximately 7 million, still experience discriminatory practices in education, employment, housing, and the governmental sector. In the 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico relinquished her right to her northern-most territory, which now constitutes the States of Texas, New Mexico. Arizona, California, and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. When General Stephen Watts Kearny took possession of Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the name of the United States, he told the assembled populace at Santa Fe, "We come as friends, to better your condition. . . . You are now American citizens. . . . I am your governor—henceforth look to me for protection" (Sanchez 1967). But the populace of Santa Fe soon learned, as did new "American" citizens elsewhere, that this treaty simply unleashed a march of imperialism across their land, the culmination of which resulted in a people homeless, destitute, and, above all, forgotten in their own land. Prior to 1848, the wealth of the area was largely in the hands of the inhabitants but, within a short period of time, a "property transfer" occurred, as happens in any permanent military occupation. Furthermore, the new lands were administered as territories of the United States, and the governors of the territories were appointed in Washington, D.C. with no local representation.

Other minority communities have similarly experienced the fate of blacks, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans. California State law in the mid-19th century stated that no black, "mulatto," or Indian was allowed to give evidence in favor of or against a "white man." In 1854, this restriction was widened to include the Chinese. The Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court made this decision on the basis of the following argument: "The same rule which would admit [Chinese] to testify would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls. This . . . is an actual danger" [Daniels and Kitano 1970, p. 133]. It is also a conveniently forgotten fact of this country's history that 112,000 Japanese Americans living on the Western seaboard were forcibly confined to 10 "relocation centers" during World War II. During their forced confinement, these people found their constitutional guarantees suspended and their homes and businesses "purchased" at below bargain prices by the majority group. They were provided with Government salaries ranging up to $19 a month (Simpson and Yinger 1965). The stated rationale for this policy was "war security," but it is a fact that German Americans were *not* also forcibly confined. The racist implications of this are obvious. Further, it was legally impossible for Issei (Japanese Americans born in Japan) to become American citizens until 1952.

To continue to document the history of prejudice in the United States against people of color, let us consider Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican is an up-to-the-minute version of the many past waves of immigrants to the United States. But the Puerto Rican is not an immigrant; rather, he is a migrant, fully an American citizen, who relocates, seeking a better job and better life opportunities in the mainland. Most Puerto Ricans have come to the mainland within the past 30 years or so. More than half are under 21 years of age. Of the more than 1 million on the mainland, a great number have served in the Armed Forces—and many have died serving their country. For years, Puerto Ricans have handpicked the fruit and vegetable crops in the farm areas of the eastern seaboard. They have also taken on virtually every menial, low-paying job in the eastern urban centers of this country. Their reward has been poverty, unemployment or underemployment, poor education, substandard education, and political impotence. As a matter of fact, it was not until 1970 that the first native-born Puerto Rican was elected to the Congress of the United States.

In sum, we present a cursory overview of the major minority communities in the United States. Despite genocide, land expropriation, forced migration restricted opportunities for education and employment, etc., members of minority groups are a healthy and visible segment of the U.S. population. Their survival is a testament to the strength of their communities. Although disappointment and bitterness are reflected in the eyes of many members of the communities examined here, there is neither despair nor hopelessness. A difference exists between knowing the realities of life and not having the clout to control this reality, and the inability to synchronize and blend in with the major-

ity because of some inherently negative characteristic of the individual or community.

All of the minority communities discussed above have historically provided social scientists with a laboratory-like setting for the study of social problems. High rates of unemployment, welfare recipients, juvenile delinquency, alcohol and drug abuse, and violent crime have been reported in the ethnic/racial minority enclaves. These problems have attracted the interest of social scientists who have theorized and researched about social problems in minority communities. The paradigms employed in the study of social problems are available for scrutiny, and the examination of them below reveals additional information about the treatment of people of color.

Social Problem Paradigms

Before examining the paradigms used in studying social problems, it is best to begin with a definition. Most social scientists consider a social problem "to be an alleged situation which is incompatible with the values of a significant number of people who agree that action is necessary to alter the situation" (Rubinton and Weinberg 1971, p. 5). This definition reflects the essential cultural bias that exists in the study of social problems. Specifically, social problems have been seen as deviations from, or violations of, some generally accepted, popular norms (in terms of behavior and beliefs), and they have been considered to be deviations and violations that are observable, known, and detected by significant proportions of the public.

This definition makes the analysis of hidden, latent, or potential problems all but impossible, since, if the event is not recognized as a problem, it will probably not be studied. Furthermore, this definition implies that the values or norms being violated are the desirable, acceptable standards for belief and behavior. The action that the public demands in response to social problems is typically one that will restore the state of affairs to the way it existed before the problem occurred. This, in effect, recreates the environment that produced the problem. In this fashion, then, social scientists tend to follow the lead and dictates of public opinion in selecting problems to be studied. It is not surprising that social scientific attention has been concentrated on social problems in the minority community, such as unemployment or crime, but has largely neglected the underlying societal causes leading to these problems.

Once a social problem is defined, social scientists have to formulate a method and rationale for study. In effect, these entail the development of a perspective which includes orienting ideas, definitions, conceptualizations, and actions. Out of this process emerge paradigms which direct the social scientist to the problem to be studied, define the methodology to be used, and set the stage for interpretation of the data once the study is complete. We can point to at least four major paradigms that have directed the research of social scientists involved in studying social problems in the minority community.

Before launching into an analysis of the social science paradigms, it is essential to understand that the "scientific" study of social problems has been largely a majority group enterprise. There is even to the present such a miniscule number of social scientists of color that the supposedly "objective" perceptions of social problems are biased from the majority perspective. When minority group social scientists have spoken out against the traditional approaches to social problems, they have been labeled as radical or pseudoscientific. Yet, more often that not, social scientists from the majority group have not recognized how their own biases have distorted their study of social problems or how their work has been used in the political process to arrive at policies that often cause more harm than good in minority communities.

Social Pathology. The underlying assumption here is that social problems are the result of social disease, much as the disruption of normal bodily functioning is caused by physical disease. Deviant behavior is, then, seen as pathological or "sick." This paradigm is analogous to the medical approach to illness. The complaint is located (e.g., broken bone, infection, etc.) and treated. The physician in this model is rarely involved in the environmental causes of illness. In the social pathology paradigm, the illness is viewed as residing within the individual. The unemployed poor constitute an excellent example of a social problem where we can demonstrate how this paradigm actually operates. The unemployed person is viewed by the advocate of the pathological paradigm as an idler, too lazy to work, and lacking the ethic of hard work. In accordance with this belief, society distinguishes between workers and idlers by reasoning that the ethic of hard work can be induced in the idler only if public assistance is kept at the lowest possible level. Accordingly, all of the Federal pro-

grams established to assist the unemployed are in one way or another founded on the principle that minimal assistance is necessary and will stimulate people to work. Programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the Work Incentive Program (WIP), Family Assistance Programs (FAP), and the Opportunities for Families Plan (OFP), were all based upon the idea of making welfare recipients, including mothers in one-parent households, employable. A good example of how this paradigm has infiltrated Federal policy can be seen in the Family Assistance Program initiated by former President Nixon. According to Federal guidelines, the FAP was intended to provide assistance only to the working poor, not to those poor *and* unemployed receiving welfare. In other words, a distinction was drawn between the employed and unemployed poor, and only the employed poor were viewed as worthy of assistance (Lowry 1974).

When applied to unemployment, the social pathology paradigm is subject to at least three criticisms (Austin 1972):

a. The poor have available to them only unskilled or seasonal employment, and, when these jobs are available, the poor do not have to be forced to work. When they do work, however, their family income is extremely low or subject to rapid fluctuation. Thus, assistance acts to block employability, rather than to permit people to move on their own initiative in and out of the labor market.

b. Studies have shown that substantial proportions of welfare recipients held some type of job before going on welfare. The common view that recipients of public assistance run into two and three generations is not substantiated. Furthermore, many recipients worked while receiving assistance, before the recent implementation of administrative restrictions against receiving welfare while employed.

c. The structure of the labor market is a major determinant of employability for the poor. The majority of employment "opportunities" for the poor are secondary-type jobs which are less attractive (low wages, poor conditions, little opportunity for advancement or challenge) than the primary jobs available to the middle classes. In short, there is very little motivation to excel at dead-end jobs. Thus, for the work ethic to make sense, the elimination of dependency will require alterations in the labor market so that the dependent can have access to primary jobs.

Unemployment continues among the poor not because of a lack of commitment to the work ethic but because social programs are designed to re-educate the poor—to remove their pathology—rather than to permit them to use their work commitment in positive ways. The social pathology paradigm, in determining that the "sickness" rests in the individual, fails to locate alternative sources of pathology in the larger society. It should come as no surprise that society perpetuates poverty. Cheap labor has always been a cornerstone of industrialization. As long as some groups of people can be forced to work cheaply, there is little examination of whether the society is in need of moral realignment. Instead, the society provides "assistance" programs for the poor which discourage initiative and foster dependence. Yet, through all this, people of color emerge who are willing to counter the system and fight for a better tomorrow. The United Farm Workers and Cesar Chavez are testimony to this. Chavez has argued that it is not beneath the dignity of the individual to work in the hot sun, stooped, and picking crops, but it is when that person is paid a minimal standard of living. Here, the agriculture business is shown to be "diseased" with greed and that segment of the population who would deny a person a decent wage.

Social Deviance. Here the focus is on violations of accepted forms of a society. According to this paradigm, behaviors that depart from the expected are deviant. The social-deviance paradigm differs from the social-pathology paradigm by shifting the focus of study away from the individual to the nature, causes, and consequences of deviant acts. Adherents of this paradigm propose that individuals learn deviant forms of behavior through one of two kinds of processes: (1) as a consequence of restricted opportunities for learning conventional behavior, and (2) through increased opportunity for learning deviant ways (Rubinton and Weinberg 1971).

According to the deviance paradigm, juvenile delinquency and criminal behavior are assumed to occur because of contacts with criminal subcultures and isolation from anticriminal influences. Moreover, these contacts are presumably greater in minority communities, therefore explaining the ex-

istence of elevated rates of violent crime. For the last several decades, this theory has resulted in a variety of studies of the learning processes involved in deviant behavior (Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Clinard 1964). It has also become the basis for community action programs in urban areas to provide youth with nondelinquent alternatives. Despite its seeming focus on the larger society to explain the causes of deviance, this paradigm is still essentially microsociological in orientation. The result is that dramatic forms of individual deviance, such as prostitution, rape, narcotics trafficking, and murder, are the forms of deviant behavior investigated, while the more covert and systematic forms of deviant behavior, such as racism, sexism, or exploitation, are almost totally ignored.

There are two different and critical points to emphasize. The first has to do with the fact that the responsibility for the deviance rests on the minority community, while the larger, majority community is presumably free of such deviance. The second point is that the "real" problems, those which cause the so-called problems being studied, are ignored or de-emphasized. We might also add that a fundamental concern for the nature of power in society and the role that power plays in social problems is absent in social science research. Concepts such as victimization and oppression receive little attention in the literature on deviance. The absence of analyses of these forms of deviance is understandable when we recognize the social and political biases built into the deviance paradigm.

Following an analysis of the social deviance paradigm, it is interesting to note the self-worth still enjoyed by people of color. Slogans of "Black is Beautiful" or maintenance of cultural and linguistic features, as demonstrated through the celebration of ethnic holidays, show the pride people have in their cultural roots. The labels of social deviants prevalent in minority communities have not robbed the members of these communities of their dignity.

Social Disorganization. Disorganization is defined as a disintegration of the values and rules that govern everyday behavior. Adherents of the disorganization paradigm see social problems as resulting from either a set of behaviors that conflict with, or contradict, expected patterns of conformity, or from a confusion about, or absence of, norms and values covering these behaviors. An exceptionally good example of the social disorganization paradigm in operation is seen in the Moynihan report on the black family. According to Moynihan (1965):

> At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. . . . The role of the family in shaping character and ability is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked. The family is the basic social unit of American life; it is the basic socializing unit. By and large, adult conduct in society is learned as a child (p. 51).

Because the family is seen by Moynihan as vitally important to American life, he asserts that a segment of the black community is in difficulty:

> The family structure of lower-class Negroes is highly unstable, and in many urban centers is approaching complete breakdown . . . the emergence and increasing visibility of a Negro middle-class may beguile the nation into supposing that the circumstances of the remainder of the Negro community are equally prosperous, whereas just the opposite is true at present, and is likely to continue so (p. 51).

To support his position of social disorganization among blacks, Moynihan culled data from various sources on illegitimacy rates, divorce statistics, females as heads of households, and welfare dependency. These data were used to explain the "tangle of pathology" and disorganization of the black family. According to Moynihan, the black community has been forced into a matriarchical structure that, because it is so out of line with the rest of society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole and imposes a crushing burden on the black male and, consequently, on many black women. It would be interesting to see what conclusions Moynihan would arrive at today if he studied majority group family structure. The tremendous amount of literature in recent years on the breakdown of the American family, alternative family structures, and single-parent homes is not emanating out of minority communities. On the contrary, minority communities are pointing to their strong familial ties as the basis of their strength.

Moynihan has had many challenges on his report of the black family. Rebuttals to his explanation can be found in the social science literature (Hill 1972; Valentine 1968; Young 1974). What needs to be said here concerns the conspicuous absence of an examination of the strengths of the black family in Moynihan's reports. Moynihan focuses only on the weaknesses of the black family in terms of what white families are like, thereby reflecting a single normative notion of family life. He also fails to

comment substantively on the scarcity of jobs for the black unskilled male or on the fact that "the great majority of black families . . . are not characterized by criminality, delinquency, drug addiction or desertion" (Hill 1972). What is clearly seen in Moynihan's report is the way in which the social disorganization paradigm led Moynihan to examine and/or question only a part of the facts—and only those facts that serve to reinforce a predetermined conclusion about black family life as chaotic and disorganized.

One theory that follows from the disorganization paradigm is Lewis' conceptualization of the "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1968). According to this view, the poor, because they do not share in the social, political, or economic organization of the middle class, constitute a subculture marked by familial and individual disorganization. The consequence is that the culture of poverty tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children. Lewis (1968) states:

> By the time slum children are age six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture, and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.

Although Lewis has put an interesting twist into the disorganization paradigm, he was quite cautious overall about how and to whom he applied his concept of the culture of poverty. Unfortunately, there are many who quote Lewis freely and simplify his ideas so readily that all of Lewis' genuine empathy for the poor goes unrecognized. The impact of this free translation about the poor has penetrated the social welfare establishment and its policies toward the impoverished. In his *Blaming the Victim*, Ryan (1971) has angrily denounced members of the culture of poverty cult who perpetuate the notion that poverty is a result of the characteristics of the poor themselves.

Attempts to use a social disorganization paradigm to explain social problems in minority communities have largely failed. Today, minority communities are better organized than ever before. The communities have learned that power can be exercised through the vote and political pressure. Community improvement programs, employment, and better educational institutions are some of the things minority communities are demanding from the men and women who represent them in Washington, D.C. Considering several hundred years of policies more directed at creating social disorganization than at solving social problems (e.g., slavery, military occupation, boarding schools, etc.), minority communities have survived largely intact with their values and social structures preserved.

Cultural Deficit. Use of the cultural deficit model has a long history in social science research. The starting point in an examination of this paradigm is the concept of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism consists of a constellation of attitudes which include a belief that one's own standards are (or should be) universal and that one's own group is strong and good. Members of other groups are viewed as exploitable and/or as inferior. An extreme example is the saying "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." This perception exemplifies an attitude which "justifies" genocide, colonialism, and territorial expansion. The consequence of this type of belief system is that well-defined social boundaries are erected between ingroup and outgroup members. Little social mobility is allowed between groups, and usually, when it does occur, it is only because members of the outgroup, or minority group, are allowed to adopt the standards of the ingroup. In adopting these standards, minority group members must forfeit the standards of their own group. Virtually every group of people who have immigrated to the United States or who have been brought here against their will or who have been conquered have had to undergo a process of cultural change or "melting" to meet the demands of the dominant society, and yet, regardless of how much an individual or community has given up in this process of change, people of color have still been largely excluded from the mainstream.

Let us turn to a discussion of acculturation and assimilation to better understand this point. Acculturation and assimilation together constitute a process of resocialization of the individual. This process of resocialization demands that the person:

a. Possess the ability to use the vernacular language colloquially and demonstrate other skills required for native-like communication (e.g., appropriate gestures and slang words).
b. Possess knowledge of the history and culture of the new group, its ideology, values, norms, and social structure. Knowledge of the new culture must become equal to at least that of members of the dominant group who hold a similar social position.

c. Be able to adopt the values and norms of the dominant group, as well as possess a knowledge of them. This entails conformity to the norms and values of the dominant group, not only in superficial behavior but also in appearance (which for people of color may be largely impossible) and expressive behavior.

d. Accept the new group as the primary reference group. This requires the emotional identification with the dominant group and the loss of, or extreme reduction in, identification with the group of origin.

e. Be accepted to some extent by the host group. This is equivalent to the absence of prejudice. The interpersonal contacts may vary in frequency and degree of intimacy and may lead to the establishment of a new primary group for the minority group member, including close friendships and even a marital relationship with a member of the host group.

The process of resocialization, if viewed positively, is tantamount to an acceptance of the belief that American society is the result of the many cultures that have contributed people to this society. This "melting pot" theory holds that peoples from diverse cultures have come together and created an American culture distinct from the individual cultures that contributed to it. Moreover, this American society is said to be the result of the best elements of these diverse cultures. But according to Baratz and Baratz (1970), who have examined how the underpinnings of this paradigm operate in the classroom, the melting pot idea has aided and abetted the misinterpretation of the substance of the basic doctrine of egalitarianism, subverting it from "all men are created equal" to "all men are created equal if they behave in the same manner." It is important to point out that those individuals who have not behaved like others have been labeled as "deviant" or "radical." Children from Hispanic homes who spoke Spanish in school were punished, while Native American children who fled boarding schools were labeled as "wild" Indians. Similarly, black militants were viewed as radical and threatening to the American free enterprise system and, in some cases, were exterminated by law enforcement officers.

The education of minority group children presents a microcosmic view of how the cultural deficit paradigm operates. Children who enter school with a language and/or cultural background which is different from the majority are perceived as deficient in the essentials necessary for satisfactory academic achievement. This view has traditionally resulted in the interpretation of almost all data on minority children being forced into two seemingly dichotomous categories—either that of biological incapacity (genetic inferiority) or deviance and pathology (environmental deprivation). If the judgment is genetic inferiority, the conclusion is that, irrespective of attempts to remedy the situation environmentally, the deficit cannot be remedied, since the problem lies with the genes of the individual (Eysenck 1971; Herrnstein 1973; Jensen 1969; Shockley 1972). On the other hand, if the judgment is environmental deprivation, a program of early intervention is begun. The major premise of this approach is that the deficit can be overcome by the substitution of a different set of values and norms along with knowledge of the language of the majority group. The success of this resocialization process depends on the extent to which the child is allowed to surrender the language and culture of the home.

An approach to education founded on the cultural-deficit model leaves little room for the exploration of other languages and cultural orientations. This approach fails to acknowledge that children are capable of fluency in two languages before school entry (Padilla and Lindholm 1976) or that cultural democracy (Ramirez and Castaneda 1974) in education demands pluralism in curriculum. Moreover, researchers have shown that many of the premises called upon to justify the education of the poor are not substantiated by data (Ginsburg 1972). For example, after an exhaustive review of the literature, Ginsburg concluded that the problem in educating minority children did not rest with the children but, rather, with the schools themselves. Education, according to Ginsburg, has failed to examine the assumptions that it rests on generally, and this problem is even more dramatic when examining how the poor are educated in this country.

The schools have failed at every level in their responsibility to educate minority-group children. On the average, minority-group members have 2 to

3 years less education than white Americans, are considerably less visible on college and university campuses, and, as a result, are noticeably underrepresented in the professions. The high school dropout rate among minority students has traditionally been viewed and interpreted as a "low motivation to learn" problem of these students, rather than as a "push out" problem of the schools. Blame for the lower educational attainment is directed toward the students, their families, and communities, *not* the institutional structures that maintain the system and profit from the cheap labor supply that school "push out" creates.

On another level, the universities can be looked at as the last bastions of institutionalized racism existing in this country. Universities are the gatekeepers for controlling the number of men and women who enter the professions. The gatekeeping function is clearly worked out by entrance requirements, ever-climbing tuition and fees, graduation requirements, and a lengthy period of unemployment or underemployment, with concomitant financial loss, before a degree is awarded. Tied to this gatekeeping function is the fact that the availability of many important and powerful positions is directly linked to the prestige of the university attended. To date, few people of color have been able to infiltrate the universities and to go on to the professions. Fewer still have been able to rise to positions of power. Until *all* children are offered equal educational opportunity, social equality will not exist.

The four paradigms examined above, although treated separately, are not mutually exclusive. In the social science literature they often overlap in their treatment of minority groups. Our purpose here has not been to demonstrate the full range of how these paradigms are used but merely to highlight how these "social science" paradigms reflect prejudicial attitudes of society. In essence, the jargon of science masks discriminatory attitudes and justifies practices that go counter to the philosophy of "all men are created equal" upon which the United States was founded. Another purpose has been to show how the major social science paradigms often restrict the open examination of social problems and color interpretations derived from data obtained according to the dictates of one paradigm or another (Kuhn 1970). Throughout, it has also been the authors' intention to show how minority communities have largely maintained their integrity in spite of negative social science research.

Social Science Research and Public Policy

Although minority communities are competent in the organization and conduct of their affairs, this competency is suppressed by the barriers imposed around some minority communities. The effects of these barriers have been such that they have created major social problems, for example, high rates of unemployment, violent crime, welfare, etc., in areas inhabited by people of color. The barriers referred to here include, for example, undereducation, which has resulted in fewer minority group professionals and social scientists. Without a cadre of physicians, lawyers, educators, etc., health care, legal protection, and education remain substandard.

Social science research and its concomitant paradigms and methodologies have focused on these social problems and have offered solutions which fail to recognize or implicate the societal structures maintaining these social problems. Even more serious is the fact that public policy has often been determined, or at least justified, by the social scientists' research of minority communities. Social scientists are majority group professionals who have largely maintained the traditional paradigms of their disciplines without input from minority group social scientists. In recent years, these paradigms have begun to be challenged by minority group social scientists who have emerged from their respective communities (e.g., Martinez 1977) to propose new paradigms and interpretations of social problems. The force with which these challenges are being made attests to the competence of minority communities to rise above the barriers of institutionalized racism.

A preponderance of research has focused on the weaknesses of minority people. For instance, we know more about the dysfunctions of minority group families than we know about the strengths and positive values of these same family members. Similarly, we can speak more authoritatively about the learning problems that children from non-English-speaking homes have in the classroom than we can about the probable cognitive and linguistic

advantages of bilingualism. The consequence of this imbalance in our knowledge of minority people is that we have social and educational programs that often conflict with the values and traditions of a sizable number of people. These policies and programs frequently are directed at transforming the minority person into a caricature of the majority-group person. The result is a person who, because of color, and in spite of changes in values, traditions, and language, is not totally accepted by the dominant society. The harm is that this person may also no longer be a bona fide (and accepted) member of his community. There is also a cost factor on the majority group that must be considered. A "free" society cannot be maintained indefinitely with second-class citizens. In the country's urban centers there have been many signs of societal strife and discontent. Race riots have erupted in many of the major cities, and the threat of subversive activities hangs over those in charge of maintaining the country's security. An analysis of the majority community's competence is long overdue.

That minority communities have managed to maintain their competence in the face of institutional racism, bias in social science research paradigms, and public policies enacted by decisionmakers from outside these communities is certainly a tribute. To be able to maintain respect and dignity for family, customs, language, and community cannot have been easy for any of the people of color. The majority of people of color have not committed crimes, have not been in jail, and do not receive public assistance. In fact, many have managed to enter the system and attain higher education, enter politics, and lead useful, productive lives. An excellent example of this is my colleague at the University of California, Los Angeles, Professor John Garcia, who recently received the Warren Medal from the Society of Experimental Psychologists for his work in behavioral psychology. Many other examples of men and women of color who have achieved eminence in their profession can be used to demonstrate the point that, in spite of institutional barriers, there are capable individuals of minority group backgrounds. How many more might there be if given the opportunity?

Conclusions

Much previous social science research is *invalid* because it reflects societal prejudice, rather than an objective analysis of societal problems. For example, high unemployment among minority group members is a problem, but blaming victims of unemployment (i.e., the unemployed) does not put food on their tables. The basis of institutional racism should be investigated on a continued and increased level of intensity. This represents a paradigm shift in study which will take courage and hard thinking—courage to confront the institutional basis of power in our communities and to reexamine assumptions and prejudices. Hard thinking will also be required to innovate methodologies of study and strategies for reworking erroneous models and interpretations. For many of you, there will be numerous discouragements and divisive events that will try to alter your investigations and/or inventions. The key concept here should be scientific validity; with this we may have attained the first step in reducing racism.

The strengths and competencies of our communities must be better understood, entailing a refocus in what we think worthy of study in our community for the development of a cultural strength model. Such study should also be directed at probing the concept of "competency" itself. What are the variables that control success? How can members of the same family, for instance, differ in their ability to cope with environmental and societal pressures? Ideally, our efforts should be interdisciplinary in scope and should be directed at providing a framework for the development of models for a wide range of programs extending from educational to social service-related interventions. A cultural strength model will focus on the strength of the family and community as a natural support system. Such a model will also probe the world view of the members of our community and how this world view is maintained through the socialization of our children. One critical dimension in this study should be on the feelings of positive self-esteem that we all share as people of color. It is this positive feeling of self that has persisted for generations, in spite of overt and covert racism, that will generate the momentum necessary to eliminate racism in this country.

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Section II
Cultural Diversity and Racism: Overview

The impact of Alex Haley's *Roots* heightened awareness of both the full horror of slavery and of the incredible resiliency of black people. As black courage, strength, and humor were movingly portrayed, many blacks and nonblacks alike felt a keen interest in understanding more about their own families' and groups' historical experiences. At the same time, social scientists were devoting increasing attention to the forms of oppression experienced by nonwhite minorities and conveying a growing appreciation of the adaptive solutions developed by these groups to the problems of living in a racist society.

As minority psychologists, Chin, Jones, and Torres-Matrullo are particularly well qualified to highlight aspects of the Asian-American, Afro-American, and Hispanic-American experience. (Regretfully, the intended chapter by an American Indian psychologist could not be completed in time for inclusion. Siskind's chapter includes a summary of some of the major concerns expressed by American Indian professionals, focusing on the political situation which includes the residential placement of up to one-third of all Indian children.)

Chin, Jones, and Torres-Matrullo bring their professional training, as well as their experiences as minority psychologists working with minority communities, to the task of exploring the impact of racism on their groups' collective identities. They variously examine the forms in which racism has been experienced, its psychological impact during the acculturation process, and the ways in which group cultural patterns have enabled many group members to maintain a positive sense of identity, despite their negative valuation by the larger society.

The cultural foundations of our nonwhite minorities are far too little known. Chin, Jones, and Torres-Matrullo make important contributions in this area through their descriptions of Confucian and West African philosophy and of the traditional Puerto Rican value system. Each author also traces aspects of the immigration history, including the development of collective solutions to the harshness of discrimination—whether through slave family structure, the formation of Chinatowns, or the creation of the "Island in the city," as Spanish Harlem came to be known.

The psychological process of identity formation is also given attention. Chin's particular focus is on the way in which the experience of racism compounds the normal adolescent "identity crisis" among Chinese Americans, while Torres-Matrullo selects the intergenerational conflict which typifies mainland Puerto Rican families. In Jones' chapter, the evolution of an essentially dual identity among Afro-Americans is the major thesis.

Siskind's chapter differs from the others in this section in two major respects: First, it is a broad overview of mental health issues faced by all four nonwhite minorities, both separately and collectively. Second, Siskind focuses on the need for self-exploration on the part of the white professional, including an understanding of the meaning of his/her own history as a basis for respecting the collective identity of other groups.

All four authors are concerned with the mental health implications of racism. While Jones' chapter is more historical in nature, the remaining chapters include descriptions of common problems encountered by nonminority practitioners and review several models for more responsive service delivery on both the individual and institutional levels.

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Chapter 4
Cross-Cultural Issues in Mental Health: Minority Perspectives

Judith A. Siskind

ABSTRACT

As nonwhite minorities in the United States, black, Hispanic, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans share the poverty, marginality, and other negative effects of discrimination in a racist society. They also share the task of preserving the unique aspects of their respective cultural backgrounds in the midst of the American mainstream. This chapter addresses some of the mental health issues accentuated by the current movement toward cultural pluralism. Aspects of the cultural experience of the four groups are highlighted, with a focus on group strengths and on issues of personal and collective identity. Recommendations for improved mental health service delivery center around two key needs: self-exploration on the part of white professionals who work with minority clients, and the empowerment of minorities to use material and psychological resources to achieve their own goals.

Introduction; Diversity and Unity

At the National Women's Conference held in Houston, Texas, during November 1977, a group of minority delegates issued a platform of Minority Women's Resolutions. The platform expressed their common concern with a lack of government attention to the problems of their various racial and cultural groups—problems including the monolingual nature of educational programs and services and the clearcut cultural bias in psychological, educational, and employment testing. The platform also highlighted concerns of the separate groups, with opening statements as follow:

American Indian and Alaskan-Native women: "have a relationship to Earth Mother and the Great Spirit as well as a heritage based on the sovereignty of Indian peoples."

Asian/Pacific American women: "are wrongly thought to be part of a 'model minority' with few problems."

Hispanic women: "Deportation of mothers of American-born children must be stopped and legislation enacted for parents to remain with their children."

Puerto Rican women: "emphasize that they are citizens of the United States and wish to be recognized and treated as equal."

Black women: "The President and Congress should provide for full quality education, including . . . special admission programs and for their full implementation and enforcement at all levels of education."

(Minority Women's Resolutions, 1978)

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These Minority Women's Resolutions dramatically reflect both the unity and the diversity of U.S. minorities today. The shared frustration of these groups drew them together to create a common platform, while distinct experiences of the groups required that each minority make a separate statement as well. The resulting tension between shared and separate concerns is a necessary and potentially healthy tension, mobilizing us to define and explore "processes whereby we can live in a unified society without any group surrendering its uniqueness" (Herman 1974, p. 32).

Certainly the uniqueness of our many cultural groups in the United States has remained apparent, surviving the assimilation pressures of the melting pot Nation. In the field of mental health, we have also been made aware that for our minority groups—in particular for American Indian, Asian American, black, and Hispanic groups—the environment in which children are raised is modified not only by cultural differences but also by the experience of oppression as nonwhite members of a racist society. The choices available to the developing white child are still denied to the minority child because of overt and covert discrimination. This discrimination is itself the result of prejudice, "the belief maintained by a large segment of the dominant society that the [minority groups] possess a pattern of negatively valued traits" (Padilla and Ruiz 1973, p. 117). As Padilla and Ruiz point out, the effects of prejudice include inadequate nutrition, poor education, underemployment, and general sociopolitical impotence.

A central task for minority groups during the past decade has been to combat such prejudice

and resulting discrimination, while at the same time exploring their own unique history and values. According to Greeley (1969), the notion of "cultural pluralism" rests on the idea of the United States not only as a Nation of immigrants, but also as a Nation of immigrant groups. Each of these groups inevitably experiences acculturation, but also can strive to retain many of the distinctive, creative aspects of its own cultural heritage. Preserving aspects of the traditional cultures requires an active effort, since there are constant pressures toward conformity to middle-class Anglo-American patterns of communication, belief, values, and social behavior (Solomon 1976).

Members of minority cultures have generally welcomed the "new pluralism," feeling that the denial of genuine group differences merely generates confusion of conflict. However, some have also expressed fear that a focus on ethnic group characteristics will perpetuate old stereotypes and create new ones (Herman 1974; Murillo 1976; Solomon 1976). For example, Murillo points out that there are literally thousands of different Mexican-American family types, and Wong (1972) stresses the differences among childrearing patterns in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China. In the present volume, Chin, Jones, and Torres-Matrullo all emphasize the diversity within their respective ethnic groups and the complexity of the psychological development of any individual group member. Nonetheless, they, too, find it useful to provide some global description of their groups' overall cultural characteristics.

In so doing, they are trusting their audience to avoid overgeneralizing. Sue and Kitano (1973) warn against this danger, cautioning their readers that to say, for example, that Chinese are more conforming than Caucasians tells us little. In both groups, the vast majority may be conforming. The stereotype is accurate in its comparative form ("more . . . than"), but not when overgeneralized ("Chinese are conforming"). Certainly any statements describing an ethnic group as a whole must be viewed as probabilistic—that is, the behavior or attribute in question is *more likely* to be found among members of the group under discussion than among others. It is never assured that any given member of the group will fit the description, for there is far too much diversity within groups to permit the assumption of a single personality type.

If recent observers of ethnic communities have avoided simplistic overgeneralization of group "traits," they also have shown increasing sophistication concerning the importance of economic and political factors. Observers now generally recognize the critical role of socioeconomic status in determining subcultural patterns, as well as the subtle nature of the relationship between class and race (Casavantes 1976; Giordano 1973; Valentine 1969). There is also increasing attention given to the fact that behaviors and self-perceptions within the group are necessarily related to the group's treatment by the majority white culture. As Sotomayor (1971) points out, the majority culture has the power to create or to alleviate the stress of acculturation. Thus, the debates about whether particular cultural attributes of a group are an asset or a liability have been broadened to include the societal context. Whether or not any minority group characteristic is an asset depends in part on the attitudes and actions of the majority culture. This harsh political reality requires the maintenance of a dual attention—to minority group actions and majority group reactions.

Nonwhite Minorities Today: Group Identity and Group Strengths

During the "War on Poverty" of the 1960s, there was pervasive denial of the extent to which U.S. nonwhite minorities are victims of discrimination. The source of their economic and social inequality was located in internal characteristics of the minority groups themselves, rather than in the social arrangements of the community and of society as a whole (Ryan 1971; Willie, 1970). The phenomenon, which Ryan has called "victim blaming," permitted American society to deny its own racism; "to locate the cause of disorder largely inside the poor person is to absolve the surrounding society of the sins it has committed against him" (1971, p. 154). Thus, the now infamous Moynihan report focused on the "tangle of pathology" in black family life. While Moynihan himself acknowledged unemployment as a key contributor to the problems of many black families, his description of black family characteristics was seized and elaborated by social scientists in a huge number of studies correlating poverty conditions with problematic personal and group behaviors of the poor.

By the late 1960s, sensitive observers, such as Valentine (1969), were already refuting the victim-

blaming myth of a culture of poverty. Valentine, for example, pointed out that some group features labeled as "traits" of the poor are actually reactions to externally imposed conditions or "unavoidable matters of situational expediency" rather than genuine cultural creations of the group. One of Valentine's central themes, that a group's culture is adaptive to societal conditions, led him to focus his attention on how various groups managed to preserve their unique strengths as those conditions changed.

Other observers as well have turned their attention to new questions which emphasize the strengths of minority groups. For example, Barnes has raised the issue of how so many black families have managed to escape the worst results of racism; he asks how racism is "absorbed, deflected, denied, combatted, succumbed to, and overcome by particular black families and individuals" (1971, p. 187). The role of enhanced ethnic pride in combating negative valuations has been studied by researchers such as Penalosa (1970) and Rice, Ruiz, and Padilla (1974). In all of these studies and in a growing number of others, a central focus has been on the question of why some individuals respond to the stress of discrimination with adaptive coping mechanisms, while others faced with similar circumstances do not.

The new focus on the adaptive strength of American minorities does not deny the many problems faced by these people. The problems, however, are addressed without victim blame and are more frequently seen as stemming directly from the groups' relationship to an essentially hostile wider social environment. For example, in refuting the notion that black families perpetuate poverty conditions through traits or behaviors inherent in the group, Solomon remarks, "If there is any self-perpetuating feature of black low-income family life, it is [the] situation in which parents cannot give emotional security to their children because of their inability to obtain physical, social, or psychological supports for themselves" (1976, pp. 182-183).

For Solomon, the key issue in understanding the problems of lower income black families is powerlessness, which she defines as the inability to obtain or use resources to achieve personal or collective goals. This powerlessness is a consequence of the groups's negative treatment by the majority culture. A sense of powerlessness too often becomes part of the minority individual's self-perception. As Thomas and Comer point out, mental health "includes people's feelings of worth in the context of the total cultural and societal system as well as within the identifiable groups to which they belong" (1973, p. 165). When the larger society systematically denies resources to a minority group, the group's sense of power, part of its sense of identity, is necessarily affected.

The Nature of Group Identity

The relationships among personal identity, group identity, and society as a whole have become increasingly important in their own right to scholars concerned with the minority experience. The concept itself of a "group identity" is not new; in 1948, Lewin was chiding psychologists for being so preoccupied with the individual that they failed to recognize group membership as the "ground" for perceptions, feelings, and actions. Lewin's own work was inspired in part by the concept of the "looking-glass self" which Cooley had proposed in 1902. According to Cooley, the individual's "looking glass" reflects three primary components of self-concept: one's sense of one's own appearance to others, one's sense of their judgment of that appearance, and some sort of resultant "self-feeling" (e.g., pride). Extending this concept, Mead (1934) suggested that the sense of a stable, continuing self (the core of a sense of "identity" as the concept is currently used) emerges from the individual's ability to perceive and to share the attitudes and definitions of others toward him or her. Lewin accepted these concepts and added to them his emphasis on the importance of culturally determined perceptions and cognitions to the development of an individual's self-concept.

Scholars building upon Lewin's theme that people know themselves in relation to a "ground" provided by their group's culture have emphasized the fact that one's values and perceptions are inevitably based on the experiences and history of the groups of which one is a member (Allport 1948; Erikson 1968). Thus values and perceptions differ according to ethnicity and also according to social class, religion, age, sex, geographic region, and social setting (Levine 1974). As Erikson has noted, "We cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate . . . the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other" (1968, p. 23).

Just as earlier studies of the social correlates of poverty focused primarily on negatively valued traits and behaviors, earlier studies of minority group identity focused primarily on self-hatred—suggesting that minority individuals' awareness of the culture's disdain for their group is translated directly into a form of personal self-hatred. More recently, however, it has been suggested that the relationships among the individuals, the groups, and the larger society are far more complex than a straight row of mirrors. For example, Nobles (1973) points out that Mead's treatment of the concept of the "looking-glass self" omits the reference for self as part of the group and thus omits the important role of the "we." Nobles describes the "we" not only as including the sense of being defined as a group member by a larger society, but also as including one's interactions as a group member, feelings toward the group and toward participation in the group. According to Nobles, a sense of group membership provides a means of self-support and self-enhancement during the continual process of formulating a sense of one's own identity. In addition, for the black individual, Nobles proposes that the African world view has survived the American experience and pervades the process of identity formation. An essential feature of the African world view is that self comes into being as a consequence of the group's being: Thus the "I" and the "we" cannot meaningfully be separated. Solomon (1976) echoes Nobles' emphasis on the group's crucial role in determining identity when she points out that some of society's negative valuations don't end in a sense of powerlessness because of the "protective cushion" provided by primary group relationships.

As appreciation of the importance of group identity has grown, writers both within and beyond minority cultures have attempted to describe the essential features of minority group kinship networks and family life. Inevitably there are conflicting generalizations, since no particular set of features necessarily describes a majority of individuals in *any* culture. The observations which follow are meant to provide a sampling of some of the major themes concerning the world view and family patterns of black, American Indian, Hispanic, and Asian American groups in the United States. The sampling of themes is in no way intended as an adequate summary of the culture of these groups.

Black American Experience. One of the central themes emerging from the recent literature concerning black American life is that of the flexible organization (as opposed to disorganization) of black family and social networks (Hill 1972; Nobles 1973; Stack 1974). Stack, describing the frequent swapping of goods among lower income black families, points out that this system of reciprocity is a "resilient response" to poverty conditions. "The black urban family, embedded in cooperative domestic exchange, proves to be an organized, tenacious, active, lifelong network" (1974, p. 124). Similarly, Hill has noted that black families are far more likely than white families to incorporate children into other than nuclear family groups. This shared responsibility for childrearing helps to mitigate the negative effects of inadequate child welfare services. Hill also summarized what he finds to be five major strengths of black families: (1) the adaptability of family roles; (2) strong kinship bonds; (3) a strong work orientation; (4) a strong religious orientation; and (5) a strong achievement orientation.

The extent to which African philosophy and Africanisms continue to influence black American culture is currently debated among scholars of black American history (Pinckney 1975). Among those who stress the role of African roots is Nobles (1972), who contends that the unique status of black psychology is not derived from the negative aspects of being black in white America. Instead, that unique status comes from positive features of basic African philosophy, which dictates values, customs, attitudes, and behaviors of Africans both in Africa and beyond. Nobles describes an ethos, or set of guiding beliefs, which centers around the concepts of oneness with nature and of the tribe's survival. The African philosophy also includes a natural rhythm of time (a movement from immediate present time to more distant time in the past or future) and a sense of "experiential community" or sharing of experiences by the group. A cardinal point of the resulting group ethos is, "I am because we are; and because we are, therefore I am" (1972, p. 29).

In this volume, Jones (chapter 7) describes the ongoing interaction of African tribal experiences with experiences in slaveholder society in the gradual formation of black American identity. He finds both positive and negative aspects of identity formation essential to an understanding of the psychological experience of the Afro-American.

American Indian Experience. In recent years, Indian and other scholars have attempted to articulate central aspects of the American Indian philosophy reflected in the value systems of many current Indian tribes. Among the themes frequently cited are the Indians' unique use of symbolism, their visionary experience, dream power, and rich language use. Berry (1977) views these aspects of Indian culture as evidence of an unusual capacity for communion with the depths of one's own psychic structures.

Despite the great diversity among American Indian tribes in how they view the relationship of man to nature, there are shared emphases on harmony with the environment, a deep respect for natural resources, and an ability to *be* in nature rather than filling time with activity or space with possessions as ends in themselves (Ortiz 1970). Unfortunately, this subtle philosophical orientation, stereotyped as "passivity," has been exploited by the dominant culture throughout American history. The Indians who signed away their land believed deeply that no man can ever own the earth's land. And as Humphrey points out, the Native Americans who today are forced to relinquish their children to boarding schools and foster homes are the offspring of the 19th century Native Americans who "were forced to relinquish their territory, their self-governance, and their self-esteem" so that white America could expand (1976, p. 1).

Extended family responsibility for child welfare is a central aspect of the culture of most American Indian groups; even other children within the tribe are viewed as sharing responsibility for their peers (Byler 1977; Jimson 1977). There is considerable attachment of the child to the entire group. Thus, for example, the first principle taught to Indian students at the Red School House in St. Paul, Minn., is "We honor a man for what he has done for the people rather than for what he has done for himself." In this context, it is understandable that Indian students are often noted by their teachers to avoid any behaviors demonstrating their individual superiority in a skill area. When performance is redefined as benefiting the entire group, Indians are more comfortable competitors (Wax 1971).

Institutional child welfare policies have inhibited native patterns of shared responsibility. Wax points out that, from the white ethnocentric perspective, the only fundamental unit for sharing should be the nuclear family. Yet, despite institutional pressures and severe oppression, patterns of voluntary cooperation and solidarity have sustained many Indian communities. For example, in Hopi culture a father does not punish his own child; to do so would be to destroy his unique teaching relationship with his son or daughter. Therefore, the child is sent to an uncle or special designated tribal member for punishment (DeMontigny 1970). Attneave has pointed out that this and other "traditional Indian ways of distributing child care within a network of caring people are also some of the most modern ways of developing human services delivery" (1969, p. 30). It is particularly ironic that the very Indian childrearing patterns that could serve as a model of effective group caretaking are devalued and weakened by the placement of Indian children outside the reservation. Similarly, tribal self-determination is undermined by policies denying to Indians the power to control their own educational and social welfare systems (Unger 1977; Westermeyer 1973).

Concerning the direct impact of racism on the cultural life of Indian groups, the statistics cited by recent writers are staggering: In States with large Indian populations, approximately 25-35 percent of all Indian children are in foster homes, adoptive homes, or institutions. Thus, in Wisconsin, for example, the risk of separation from parents is nearly 1,600 percent greater for Indian than for non-Indian children (Byler 1977).

There is a double edge to the racism of policies which result in the "wholesale and often unwarranted removal of Indian children from their homes, reservations, and people" (American Association for Indian Affairs, cited by Mindell and Gurwitt 1977, p. 62). First, those who remove the children from their homes often act in ignorance of cultural patterns, failing to recognize that there may be scores, even upward of 100 relatives who are considered to be responsible family members. Second, the strengthened sense of community responsibility, a key aspect of the Indian tribal network, diminishes the importance of the nuclear family as a separate unit. Thus there is less chance that the nuclear family can mobilize itself when an outside agency acts to assume custody (Byler 1977).

The pernicious effects of our current child-welfare policies regarding American Indians include the fragmentation of families, a lowered sense of personal efficacy on the part of parents and other family members, and the forced social disintegration of the group. Furthermore, as Att-

neave (1977) observes, a vicious cycle is often perpetuated: Many Indian parents relinquish their children because, from early school age on, these parents themselves had no real family life and thus have no memories of established patterns of home childrearing on which to rely. The learning of eventual parental roles must come from contact with elders and peers in one's own community.

Hispanic American Experience. Spokespeople for both Puerto Rican and Mexican-American groups have emphasized those cultures' remarkable viability in adapting to a wide variety of geographic settings and social conditions. Warmth, mutual regard, and cohesiveness are qualities frequently described (Hernandez, Haug, and Wagner 1976). The sharing of goods beyond the nuclear family is prevalent even when there is precious little to share (Murillo 1976). Torres-Matrullo's description of cultural aspects of Puerto Rican family life highlights the importance of respect for elders and a sense of family obligations (chapter 6, this volume).

The recent literature concerning Hispanic culture has been marked by controversy concerning the extent to which traditional cultural values actually persist in the urban American environment (Miranda 1976). While the importance of religion and folk healers is disputed, most researchers agree that extended kinship patterns, including the selection of godparents as functional kin, continue as a strong institution in Hispanic family life (Padilla, Carlos, and Keefe 1976). Some researchers also have expressed concern that the socialization experience of American schooling results in Hispanic children oriented toward individual rather than group success and competition rather than cooperation (Kagan and Madsen 1971). While such socialization may prepare children for the realities of the mainstream American lifestyle, Hispanic and other observers are increasingly calling into question the goal of mainstream success at the expense of the tradiitonal cultural values of group cohesiveness and mutual support.

Asian American Experience. In chapter 5 of the current volume, Chin notes the decline of negative stereotypes toward Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans. In contrast to their negative valuation in past decades, these groups are now stereotyped as thrifty, hard working, obedient, and cohesive. According to Sue and Kitano (1973), there is some validity to these stereotypes, since statistics have borne out high achievement, relatively low problem rates, and personality indicators in the expected directions. However, recent studies of Asian-American clients seen in community mental health facilities suggest that the incidence of mental health problems among these "model minorities" has been underestimated and that their mental health needs are not being met (Sue and McKinney 1975).

In describing traditional cultural patterns among Chinese-Americans, Fong (1973) has stressed the formal, respectful nature of family interactions: "Children are taught to place great value on family solidarity and to sacrifice self-expression in the interest of the larger good, that of maintaining harmonious relationships within the family" (p. 117). Fong also notes a Chinese cultural emphasis on gentleness, modesty, patience, reserve, and social sensitivity. Chin (chapter 5, this volume) places these attributes within the context of Confucian philosophy, the foundation of Chinese family and interpersonal life.

Traditional Japanese-American cultural patterns are said to include firm parental control, the absence of prolonged verbal exchanges, and the prescription of behavior by clearly defined rules and obligations to the group, whether family or community (Kitano 1976). Since acculturation has occurred quickly for this group, Japanese-American culture is generally distinguished according to first, second, or third generation patterns.

In terms of employment and education, and also in terms of social indicators such as rates of crime and mental illness, Japanese-Americans have been an extremely successful minority group. Kitano notes that acculturation has been relatively easy for Japanese-Americans because their traditional values, skills, attitudes, and behavior are not profoundly different from those espoused by American culture. He points out that, historically, the Japanese-American's situation has been quite different from that of the geographically isolated American Indian or the educationally and occupationally deprived lower income black.

Nevertheless, the Japanese-American group has not been spared the experience of extreme forms of institutional racism. In 1924, for example, the Immigration Act excluded all Orientals on the grounds that they were essentially unassimilable. More recently, at least 100,000 West Coast Japanese-Americans were incarcerated in internment camps during World II—a fact of which a surprisingly large number of Americans are not even aware.

Both Fong (1973) and Kitano (1972) note the increasing social activism of their respective Asian-American groups, calling into question the popular stereotype of these groups as socially quiescent. Kitano feels that for a long time the experience of prejudice and discrimination, along with their sense of being a "visitor" or "guest" in a host country, prevented Japanese-Americans from expressing their anger directly. In the current climate of greater acceptance of ethnic diversity (and with the security won through overachievement), more and more Asian Americans appear to be moving out of the "passive acculturative position" and grappling openly with issues of group identity and power.

Implications for Mental Health Services Delivery to Minorities

As researchers and program evaluators began to turn their attention to the issue of minority utilization of mental health services, initial predictions were mixed. Some expected low rates of utilization because of the strong support networks cited as existing within extended families and communities for all four minority groups. However, the stresses of poverty are also more frequently experienced by minorities, with attendant strains on mental health.

Our knowledge of the prevalence of mental health problems among minorities is limited by our uncertainty about just what constitutes mental health and our added confusion concerning the relationship of socioeconomic status to group behavior (Blackwell 1975). As researchers began trying to sort out the definitions and relationships, it became clear that whatever the prevalence of emotional problems among minorities, they tended to drop out of treatment after the first session at mental health clinics. Across all four minority groups, the dropout rate has been estimated at higher than 50 percent of minority clientele (Miranda, Andujo, Caballero, Guerrero, and Ramos 1975; Miranda and Kitano 1976; Sue 1977; Sue, McKinney, Allen, and Hall 1974).

While the problem of higher dropout rates among minorities is often attributed to the lower quality or quantity of services offered to those groups, Sue (1977) has documented the persistence of poorer treatment outcomes for minorities, even when they are offered equal services in terms of number of type of contacts, professional level of staff, etc. Proposing the term "equal but unresponsive services" to describe this ironic situation, Sue suggests that minority clients may actually require different services to provide a better "fit" between professional technique and the client's own values and lifestyle.

Specific suggestions have been offered recently concerning the differential treatment which Sue and other minority professionals find necessary to improve services to minority clients. For example, Miranda and Kitano (1976) found that the underutilization of services among both Japanese-American and Mexican-American groups reflects a sense of embarrassment and discomfort at not feeling understood by their white interviewers. In addition to the frequent and serious problem of an actual language barrier, this feeling appeared to result from the unfamiliar bureaucratic atmosphere in many mental health service facilities.

Concerning this bureaucratic atmosphere, Moll, Rueda, Reza, Herrera, and Vasquez (1976) have questioned the appropriateness of traditional interview training, with its emphasis on "professional distance" and formal structure. Establishing a more personal relationship (e.g., more self-disclosure on a therapist's part) and prolonging the interview when indicated are recommended by these researchers as more appropriate interview practices with minority clients. Philippus (1971) and Gonzales (1976), summarizing the recommendations of numerous Hispanic professionals, have called for a modification of formal intake procedures and a greater awareness and use of the informal interpersonal network as part of the counseling process. More generally, they also have called for a less assimilative orientation on the part of the nonminority professional.

The "assimilative stance" (Ramirez 1971) to which minority professionals often refer has included a tendency to attribute poor outcome with minority clients to problems of the client—for example, low motivation, lack of verbal skills, or disorganization. As Miranda et al. point out, this defensive response to the underutilization of services by minorities is likely to perpetuate the situation: "Focusing on client limitations (e.g., low SES characteristics) as opposed to those limitations inherent in the therapeutic process can create serious problems in formulating effective treatment approaches" (1976, p. 48). These researchers further state that *de facto* exclusion from services, by not providing services of a sort which minorities can use comfortably, is a form of racism.

Both general warnings and specific guidelines have been offered to mental health professionals who work with minority clients. For example, concerning Asian American clients, Wong (1972) has pointed out that the impact of racist immigration laws and other anti-Asian legislation can still be felt in the Chinese-American community's tendency to keep problems from within the community to itself. Wong also notes the persistence of the Chinese cultural prohibition against embarrassing or confronting others—a norm strikingly in contrast to a white therapist's typical encouragement of the open expression of anger and other emotions. Similarly, Kitano (1976) describes the importance to Japanese-Americans of "saving face." He notes that, in traditional Japanese culture, accepting praise in public is frowned upon and self-denigration is the expected response to praise from others. (Such behavior could well lead to a diagnosis of clinical depression by a mental health worker not aware of the possible cultural component).

Concerning therapy with Hispanic clients, Anders, Parlade, Chatel, and Peele (1976) have called for a greater emphasis on the family framework and on the development of community support systems around the client in treatment. Torres-Matrullo (chapter 6, this volume) reviews and further develops a number of recommendations concerning therapy with Puerto Rican and other Hispanic groups. These recommendations include the use of a problem-solving/teaching model (Casas 1976), assertiveness training for low-income Mexican American women (Boulette 1976), and behaviorally oriented group therapy (Herrera and Sanchez 1976).

Black professionals have stressed the profound difference in world view which typically separates the white interviewer from the black client because of their very different experiences in our society. For example, Pinderhughes has noted that "what most Whites perceive as an orderly American social system, most Blacks experience as an unresponsive, unremitting, dehumanized, well-rationalized, quiet, courteous, institutionalized violence not unlike colonialism" (1973, pp. 86-87). To survive in such a climate, many blacks have learned *not* to discuss their problems and feelings openly with whites; Pinderhughes observes that instead they may engage in "accommodating-subordinating ritualized behavior designed to make as few waves as possible in the system" (op. cit., p. 70). Similarly, Jones and Seagull (1977) find that black clients may use lack of verbal clarity as a defense against communicating openly or may tell the interviewer only what they assume he or she wants to hear. These researchers feel that the white professional must be able to sense and to challenge this behavior when it occurs among their black clients. What's more, they recommend that in a therapy situation the issue of color differences be brought up early, establishing a model of openness and permission to voice doubts.

Minimizing Racism in Clinical Practice

It is clear from the recommendations above that the white service provider, seeking to work effectively with minority clients, must be capable of genuine empathy for those clients regardless of their ethnic background or race. Moreover, as Solomon (1976) points out, the professional must be able to perceive and explore in any behavior a number of alternative explanations for that behavior. Solomon views the sifting of possible explanations for a client's behavior as a crucial process in counseling or therapy; it includes becoming aware of both similarities and differences among ethnic groups, sorting through conflicting generalizations, and drawing careful inferences based on the data of the particular situation.

Some professionals point to the difficulty of developing the skill to work with minorities, unless the white professionals at least attempt to experience firsthand the conditions under which their minority clients are living. Thus, for example, Vontress recommends that white counselors live and work in black communities in order to "approximate what it's like to be black in an alien society" (1971, p. 12). Others are less insistent that vicarious experience be sought, and some are skeptical about its validity as a genuine approximation of minority oppression. But despite differences in the recommended means, minority professionals are in wide agreement that the white service providers should be deeply aware that their minority clients are living in a racist society (Jones and Seagull 1977).

Self-exploration on the professional's part appears to be the process which most feel will lead to more sensitive and effective mental health services to minorities. Jones and Seagull suggest that the white practitioners explore their own stereotypes and feelings about clients differing on *any* important dimensions, such as race, age, sex, religion,

politics, sexual mores, wealth, and education. Herman feels that self-exploration also is necessary in order to understand and respect the similarities and differences among ethnic group experiences. She proposes a personal quest along the following lines: "What does my family and personal history mean? How much do I know about where my grandparents and parents came from, or why, or what they went through?" (1974, p. 15). The goal of such self-exploration is an understanding of one's own group identity and its continuing impact on personal identity and values. By extension, such understanding should heighten awareness and acceptance of the diverse experiences of other groups and the impact of those experiences on the behavior and outlook of individual members of the groups.

The heightening of respect for the ethnic identity of others is especially crucial for an effective therapy relationship with minority clients. Miranda et al. (1976) note that if clients sense that their ethnicity is not esteemed, they perceive themselves as implicitly devalued in the eyes of their white therapist. In the complex mirroring of the identity process, their perception of the therapist's perception of their group becomes a basis for self-esteem or self-doubt.

Further Alternatives to Traditional Services: The Use of Networks

In the opinion of many minority mental health professionals, the sensitization of white therapists is only one aspect of improving services to nonwhite groups. Another priority is to tap the mental health resources and expertise available within minority communities but largely neglected by funders and policy planners (Attneave 1969; Garrison 1972; Sue 1977). From all four minority groups there has been an increasing demand for the funding of bilingual and bicultural staff and the establishment of minority-controlled services.

Many of the minority proposals have been for the community control and staffing of services which remain essentially parallel in form to those offered by the traditional mental health centers. For example, Blanchard (1977) has called for the training of a far larger number of competent American Indian social workers, who would be allowed to administer the total social services program in their communities. (However, there often is an important redefinition of "training," as when Blanchard notes that the Indian social worker's professional education should include an appreciation of Indian cultural values as well as the more typical study of personality theories which may be less relevant to the Indian experience.)

Other proposals call for a more dramatic restructuring of service delivery to minorities (Abad, Ramos, and Boyce 1977; Attneave 1969; Kalish and Moriwaki 1973). While the specific populations and procedures involved are diverse, the common theme of these proposals is the utilization of existing informal networks within the community as a therapeutic force. Thus, for example, Atteneave describes "network therapy," in which the therapist assembles the entire clan or extended kinship group to work together in defining the client's problem, exploring various solutions, and symbolically restoring the individual to the group. The therapist is both a part of the network and a link to the larger society; the central therapeutic tasks include not only the mobilization of healthy group processes, but also the modeling of resource utilization within the community.

Collaboration of mental health professionals with Hispanic folk healers is another form of network utilization (Abad et al. 1977). Such collaboration was attempted in New Haven when professional service providers discovered that as many as two-thirds of their Puerto Rican clients had seen, or were still seeing, folk healers for the same or similar mental health problems. The collaborative effort has included referrals between the two radically different health paradigms and an attempt to explore their respective areas of expertise.

A third example of network use involves the provision of services to elderly Asian Americans. Noting the traditional importance and authority of the elderly family member in both Chinese and Japanese cultures, Kalish and Moriwaki point out the especially traumatic nature of this member's removal from the family during his or her old age. They propose that, if given their share of funding and other resources, Asian-American communities can provide the necessary medical and social services within the existing extended kinship networks. The use of existing networks clearly involves far less physical and psychological disruption of the life of the elderly client. Kalish and Moriwaki also recommend the provision of surrogate families to isolated elderly members of the community. However, current funding policies do not permit reim-

bursement to families of the cost of caring, either for their own or for foster elderly members.

Empowerment: Core Issue in Minority Mental Health

Two of the most frequent recommendations concerning mental health service to minorities—community control of resources and the use of existing interpersonal networks—involved enhancing the power of minority groups to achieve their own goals with material or political resources. Granting fiscal control to a minority group and legitimizing that group's own forms of healing are both key aspects of empowerment. As a process, empowerment has been defined as:

> the development of an effective support system for those who have been blocked from achieving individual or collective goals by the severity or complexity of the discrimination they have suffered. (Solomon 1976, p. 22)

By the same definition, powerlessness in a group is the inability to use resources to achieve collective goals. As Solomon points out, such inability need not result from lack of motivation or low self-esteem, as is so often assumed. In fact, it often results from blocked funding or sanction, institutionalized forms of disenfranchisement.

In stressing the importance of empowerment, Solomon calls attention to the fact that cultural pluralism itself cannot meaningfully be considered apart from notions of power. External forces play a central role in creating the problems of minority groups. Among these forces are the economic, educational, and social institutions in our society which ensure such disproportionate minority membership among the poor. Especially among lower income groups with minimal political influence, a sense of control over one's own life is extremely difficult to achieve. Thus Bluestone and Purdy, psychiatrists at a large Bronx hospital, report:

> We have become increasingly aware of and impressed by the number of Puerto Rican patients admitted following suicide attempts who demonstrate no true depression. Rather, it is anger and frustration that has no acceptable outlet or means of resolution in terms of the environment or culture (1977, p. 48).

The situation of American Indian groups, with up to one-third of their child population removed from the home, is another dramatic illustration of the tragic results of powerlessness. Yet, despite the stereotyped impression of some child welfare workers that Indian parents are irresponsible, case histories document that, when Indian parents regain control over their own lives, they seek to obtain their children and resume their parental role (Westermeyer 1977).

A common focus of most therapies is the process of encouraging clients to view themselves as causal agents in the world and to take responsibility toward reaching a resolution of their own problems. The professional working with a minority group member faces the serious dilemma of how to encourage a heightened sense of responsibility for one's own actions in an individual whose perception of powerlessness is often realistic. Obviously, the solution cannot be to await the elimination of racism before proceeding with therapy or other mental health services to minorities. As Thomas and Sillen (1972) point out, it is dehumanizing to assume that minority group members don't experience personal conflicts or vulnerabilities or that nothing can be done for their personal distress until major social problems are solved.

Empowerment and the Mental Health Professions. The need for greater social justice and the need to help clients cope with the present social reality create a dual pressure, demanding a creative response from the mental health profession. We have become aware that to help clients "adjust" to the given state of affairs is often to augment their sense of powerlessness and to perpetuate that state of affairs.

Solomon (1976) has proposed a new model of the mental health professional as someone skilled in social system change in order to enhance the quality of life for community residents. Jones and Seagull also have recommended that counselors and therapists "pay more attention and exert more energy at the level of social and environmental change" (1977, p. 211). They point out that such a shift in attention does not necessarily imply neglect of dysfunctional aspects of personality; when environmental restrictions are removed, those personality patterns which had evolved to adapt to the restrictions will become obsolete and will be abandoned.

The new mental health professional, as an agent of social-system change, may be less a therapist or counselor than an educator with the central task of helping to overcome the ethnocentrism so deeply rooted in our societal institutions. As Marmor (1977) has observed, the elimination of prejudice

does not depend on the elimination of ethnicity itself through cultural assimilation. In fact, a central theme of the movement toward cultural pluralism is the right of all Americans to remain identified with their own ethnic groups while adopting aspects of the mainstream American lifestyle (Ramirez and Castaneda 1974). Thus, the elimination of prejudice must come not by attempting to force and enforce a sameness, but instead of changing attitudes resulting from an insufficient knowledge of other groups. According to Marmor, a key aspect of emotional growth is "the ability to retain positive group identifications and yet move on to the capacity to form good . . . relationships outside of the group" (1977, p. 9).

This task of combating racism, while encouraging the maintenance of distinct ethnic-group identities, is necessarily complicated and difficult. Among its central goals is the empowerment of minority groups to determine the means and ends of mental health services in their individual and collective lives. Another important goal is what Herman (1974) has called "intercultural personal competence": openness, trust, and an ability to communicate with people from other cultures. It is toward the achievement of this goal that white mental health professionals are encouraged to undertake the study of minority cultures and of their own values, assumptions, and stereotypes concerning ethnic identity.

For both white and minority professionals, another crucial task is further study of the process of identity formation among minorities. Simplistic models of internalized self-hatred are giving way to a more realistic appreciation of the varied sources of identity and self-esteem; but much remains to be understood about both positive and negative aspects of identity development in a racist society.

Any effective mental health practitioner must be in some sense both scholar and advocate concerning minority clients. As a scholar, the practitioner continually attempts to understand and appreciate the complexity of the minority client's life experience. And as an advocate, the practitioner works to change those societal structures which perpetuate the disproportionate poverty and powerlessness of American minority groups. The advocacy role calls for a genuine collaboration in reducing racism, beginning with racism within ourselves and within the current structure of mental health service delivery.

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Chapter 5

Institutional Racism and Mental Health: An Asian-American Perspective

Jean Lau Chin

ABSTRACT

Contemporary Asian Americans tend to be viewed positively. Ironically, the positive stereotypes have had negative consequences for this group and reflect the subtlety of institutional racism toward Asian Americans. This chapter highlights the experience of Chinese Americans, focusing on their immigration history, cultural foundations, and acculturation experiences. The acculturation process is explored especially in terms of its impact on personal and group identity. Finally, seven erroneous assumptions about cultural conflict are described along with recommendations for mental health professionals who work with Asian Americans or other minority clients.

Contemporary Asian Americans are viewed positively by most white Americans. They tend to be stereotyped as "not having problems, able to take care of their own, intelligent and hard-working"—in essence, a model minority (Kitano 1973; "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S." 1966). This success-story outlook reflects the widespread belief that Asian Americans have somehow overcome prejudice and discrimination. It ignores the history of intense discriminatory practices toward Asian Americans in the United States and is used to justify the shortcomings of human service delivery systems for this minority group. Thus, ironically, the positive attitude toward Asian Americans has some negative consequences for the group and comprises a subtle form of institutional racism.

Although Asian Americans have similar cultural and geographic origins, it is important not to overlook the diversity within this group. Cultural traditions and acculturation experiences vary considerably along such dimensions as national origin, regional subgroups within nationalities, period of immigration, and number of generations in the United States. To make this chapter meaningful in light of such diversity, I bring my personal and professional perspective as a Chinese American psychologist. The chapter focuses on the experience of Chinese Americans, particularly that of the Cantonese Chinese who comprise the majority of Chinese Americans in the United States. Without ignoring cultural diversity, I consider the issues faced by this group representative of important aspects of the Asian-American experience.

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Chinese Immigration: An Historical Overview

The experience of Asian Americans in the United States has been marked by discriminatory practices (Kim 1973; Kuramoto 1971; Lyman 1971; Tachiki, Wong, Odo, and Wong 1971). Yet American history books often fail to document the extent of anti-Asian sentiment. Anti-Asian legislation in the United States has curtailed virtually all facets of civil rights. Table 1 highlights some examples. Running parallel to this legislation have been the many acts of physical violence and harassment directed against Asian Americans by public authorities and private citizens alike; Table 2 presents some examples. What is evident from these tables is the magnitude of anti-Asian racism in the United States. This racism has been fed and justified by unfavorable stereotypes and white supremacy doctrines. As a consequence Asian Americans have been scapegoated and exploited for economic and political gain. While it seems inconceivable, most of these acts were sanctioned through legislation.

When Chinese immigration to the United States is viewed in its historical context, the psychological consequences of anti-Asian sentiment and practices can be more fully appreciated. Chinese immigration to the United States began around 1850

Table 1: Examples of anti-Asian legislation and events in the United States*

1850-58: Foreign Miner's Tax — All foreign miners (in practice this meant only Chinese) had to pay a tax of $20.00 per month. Taxes often were collected at gun point and sometimes more than once a month, since tax collectors could keep a part of the money collected.

1854: The California State Supreme Court ruled that Chinese were included in an 1849 law which provided that "no Black, or Mulatto persons, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against, a white man."

1859: California State Superintendent of Schools said: "Had it been intended by the framers of the education law that the children of the inferior races should be educated side by side with the whites, it is manifest the census would have included children of all colors. If this attempt to force African, Chinese and Digger (Indian) into one school is persisted in, it must result in the ruin of the schools. The great mass of our citizens will not associate on terms of equality with these inferior races; nor will they consent that their children should do so."

1867: Federal district court declared Chinese ineligible for citizenship.

1873: Queue Ordinance (San Francisco) — Every Chinese prisoner in jail would have to have his hair cut within one inch of his scalp.

1878: Second Constitution of California: (1) Chinese immigrants denied naturalization; (2) Corporations could not hire Chinese; (3) Chinese denied employment in public works except in punishment of crime; (4) Coolie trade was illegal; (5) Legislature could remove Chinese to regions beyond the limits of cities and towns.

1870s-80s: Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party adopted the slogan, "All Chinese Must Go." Kearney said, "My only crime seems to have been that I opposed the Mongolization of my State in the interest of our own people and their civilization."

1882: Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act stopping Chinese immigration for a 10-year period. When the first law expired in 1892, it was renewed for another 10 years. Then in 1902 and 1904, Congress passed new laws which, in effect, put Chinese exclusion on a permanent basis. The United States was formally committed to a policy of racial discrimination at variance with its traditions and principles. (The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943.)

1913: Alien land acts in California, Oregon, and Washington. Prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship (Chinese, Japanese) from owning or leasing land.

1924: National Origins Act — This Act, aimed at the Japanese, produced additional restrictions upon the Chinese as well. Alien wives of American citizens were not allowed entry into the United States, if wives were not eligible for citizenship. Eliminated the nine classifications of Chinese under the Exclusion Act so that only students aspiring for master's degrees could enter the United States.

1936: San Francisco Municipal Court Judge stated that: "It is a dreadful thing when these Filipinos, scarcely more than savages, come to San Francisco, work for practically nothing, and obtain the society of these girls. Because they work for nothing, decent white boys cannot get jobs."

1942: March 2 — General John L. DeWitt, head of the Western Defense Command, issues orders to evacuate all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast.

1942: August 7 — Completion of the relocation process with establishment of 10 camps for over 110,000 Japanese, of whom 70,000 were American citizens. These camps were located in California, Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, and Arkansas.

1950: Emergency Detention Act (Title II) legalized and facilitated the establishment of detention camps to be used to incarcerate persons who might commit acts of espionage or sabotage during periods of national emergency.

*Excerpted from a table in the Multicultural Workshop Resource Packet on Asian Americans, edited by Florence Houn and Todd Lee, published by Amherst Asian American Education Committee, 1975.

Table 2: Examples of recorded acts of violence and atrocities against Asians in the United States*

1852-53: Marysville, California, and surrounding area, including North Forks Horseshoe Bar—About 1,000 Chinese miners driven from their camps.

1850s: California—Foreign Miner's Tax collected. Since collectors kept part of their taxes for themselves, many shot, beat, and otherwise abused the Chinese miners. "I was sorry to stab the poor creature, but the law makes it necessary to collect the tax, and that's where I get my profit." "He was running away and I shot to stop him. I didn't think it would hit."

1871: October 24 — At least 19 Chinese men, women, and children shot, hanged, or burned to death by white vigilante mob in Los Angeles' Chinatown.

1873: Montana—*The Montanian:* "We don't mind hearing of a Chinaman being killed now and then, but it has been coming too thick of late—soon there will be a scarcity of Chinese cheap labor in the country. . . . Don't kill them unless they deserve it, but when they do, why kill 'em lots?"

1876: Antioch, Calif.—All Chinese forced to flee and Chinatown burned to the ground. Carson—Anti-Chinese riots. Tehachapi Pass, Calif.—Nine Chinese killed, seven wounded at Camp Seven on the Southern Pacific

Railroad. Chico, Calif.—Employers of Chinese threatened; attempts made to burn down Chinatown; Chinese eventually forced to leave. Lemm Ranch near Chicago—Five Chinese tenant farmers killed, one wounded by men under orders of the Workingmen's Protective Association.

1885: Eureka, Calif.—All Chinese forced out of town. September—Rock Springs, Wyo.—At least 28 men and women killed, 500 Chinese driven from town; $148,000 worth of property burned. Squak Valley, Wash.—Three Chinese killed; 32 hops pickers driven from camp; tents and camp burned. Alaska—Chinese miners attacked with dynamite by unemployed white and Indian miners.

1886: No more Chinese remain in Alaska. Coal Creek, Black Diamond—10 Chinese injured; all Chinese miners driven out. Tacoma and Seattle—Chinatowns burned, and almost all Chinese forced to leave. Modesto Chinatown burned.

1915: Japanese crew of the ship "Minnesota" of the Great Northern Steamship Co. sent ashore and fired for protesting conditions on the ship. They were deported as undesirable aliens.

1930: January — Anti-Filipino riot in Watsonville, Calif. Filipino lettuce picker shot to death. Other Filipinos badly beaten and attacked by white mobs. Precipitating cause of riot was employment of white female entertainers in a Filipino social club.

1943: April 11 — An elderly Issei was shot to death by Army sentry in Topaz detention center (Utah) when he allegedly crossed the inner boundary fence and ignored command to halt.

1943: October — Gang of white youths drove past Topaz detention center three times and fired shots into the community hall, wounding three persons.

*Excerpted from a table in the Multicultural Workshop Resource Packet on Asian Americans, edited by Florence Houn and Todd Lee, published by Amherst Asian American Education Committee, 1975.

in response to economic and political stress (Ling 197 ; Lyman 1971). The Taiping Rebellion of 1851, alo g with a terrible flood lasting 40 days in 1849, wreaked havoc on the southeastern provinces of Canton and Fukien in China. Cantonese Chinese also had been unsuccessful in resisting the invasions of Western powers who sacked and looted their villages. Poverty, famine, and military uprisings became commonplace.

The timing of these disasters in Canton generally coincided with the California Gold Rush of 1850. Western sea agents in need of laborers came to Canton, the only Chinese seaport open to foreign vessels at the time, to advertise the gold discovery and its promise of fortunes. These agents facilitated immigration to the United States by providing cheap passage and other supports in exchange for labor; in essence, they created an indentured system.

Although China was not typically a migratory nation, the Cantonese and Fukienese were noted for their independent and adventurous spirit. With widespread famine and poverty at home, they were attracted by the American offers, and many Cantonese-Chinese men came to the United States as laborers for the mining or railroad industries. Wives and families remained in China, since the men intended to return home after having attained some wealth.

Most of the immigrants were peasants, with very limited economic opportunities at home. When they realized that their dream of making a fortune and returning to China as wealthy and respected men was not going to be realized, many of them postponed their return indefinitely. The economic disappointment, along with the frustration of living in an anti-Asian society, led many to distort their actual socioeconomic situation. Exaggerated stories of prosperity filled the letters arriving in China, as men sought to avoid the disgrace of unfulfilled expectations. Despite the abject poverty of these immigrant men, most sent regular financial support to their wives in China. The stories and financial support, along with the harshness of long separations, led wives in China to perpetuate the myth that all Chinese immigrants to America were becoming wealthy.

Because they expected their stay in the United States to be temporary, many of the early Chinese immigrants were not too concerned with the anti-Asian sentiment they encountered. As the permanence of their residence in the United States became a reality, the intense anti-Asian sentiment contributed to a profound sense of alienation and difficulty in identifying the United States as home.

Several historical events are significant in their impact upon the lives of Chinese Americans during this early immigration period and beyond. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act severely restricted Chinese immigration until 1943, when it was replaced by a quota system. Chinese custom, often misunderstood in America, prevented Chinese women from joining their husbands overseas during the first three decades of unrestricted immigration, and American law barred them after 1882 (Lyman 1971).

During this time, the shortage of Chinese women had a significant impact on the personal, social, and community life of the Chinese immigrants in the United States. Organized prostitution and secret gambling houses prospered well into the 20th century. Rather than recognizing these problems as stemming from restrictive immigration laws, many white Americans saw them as evidence of Chinese immorality.

Although the Chinese Exclusion Act was finally repealed in 1943, the quota system continued to restrict immigration and to keep Chinese families fragmented. Many Chinese resorted to illegal entry into the United States in order to be reunited with their families. In 1949, the Communist takeover of mainland China shattered the dreams of many immigrants who still hoped to return to China. Innumerable families were permanently separated. Anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States grew stronger and resulted in irrational fears of the "yellow peril."

In the years following the Communist takeover of China, Chinese Americans were frequently suspected of being Communists. Chinese businesses were harassed by immigration authorities in search of illegal aliens, and Chinese immigrants lived in constant fear of being deported.

The result of this political and psychological climate was to intensify the solidarity among Chinese and their mistrust of white Americans. Chinatowns became more isolated from the white community, and Chinese immigrants became more reluctant to venture out, even for needed services. Chinese Americans began to acquire the reputation for "taking care of their own," as Chinatowns gained importance as safe havens in an anti-Asian white society. Among the socioeconomic results of this historical pattern was the long-time restriction of Chinese Americans to laundry and restaurant occupations.

Racism in Recent Chinese American History

The atmosphere of the McCarthy era and the "yellow peril" movement has dissipated. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960's has led to greater awareness of the inequitable and discriminatory treatment of minorities. Moreover, the renewed friendship with the People's Republic of China has diminished some of the anti-Chinese sentiment. Immigration laws have become more permissive, allowing more Chinese to be reunited with their families in the United States.

Yet racism toward Asian Americans still exists. The socioeconomic situation of Asian Americans is still bleak, relative to that of whites; and within the Asian-American group, Chinese Americans rank lowest on scales of median family income, quality of housing, and availability of medical facilities (R. Chin 1971; Integrated Education Associates 1972). Human services continue to receive low priority because "Chinese don't have problems" or "take care of their own." To date, the American educational system has not succeeded in bridging the gap between cultures through bilingual-bicultural education. Despite the many Chinese Americans and others who speak English as a second language, a Bilingual Education Act was passed only in 1968 to establish bilingual programs. And in 1974, the *Lau* vs. *Nichols* Supreme Court decision declared that the San Francisco school system was not providing adequate language instruction in either language to approximately 1,800 Chinese-American students who did not speak English.

Negative and distorted Asian-American images continue to abound in the mass media and in school textbooks. Moreover, inaccurate description or omission of historical developments and cultural achievements in Asian-American history still is typical of educational curriculum materials (Endo 1973; Paik 1973; Sorich 1972). The Asian-American Children's Book Project (1976) identified and reviewed 66 books on Asian Americans published in the U.S. between 1945 and 1975. The major conclusion was that:

> With one or perhaps two exceptions, the 66 books are racist, sexist, and elitist, and . . . the image of Asian Americans they present is grossly misleading. A succinct definition of the image presented would be: Asian Americans are foreigners who all look alike and choose to live together in quaint communities in the midst of large cities and cling to outworn, alien customs (p. 5).

Occasionally anti-Asian sentiment, fed by such stereotypes, erupts in actual acts of physical brutality toward Chinese Americans or other Asian-American citizens. The Tam brothers incident shows that even in the 1970's considerable hostility toward Chinese Americans continues to exist. On May 15, 1975, James Tam, 20, and his brother George, 18, were attacked by a gang while returning to their home in Charlestown, Mass. During the melee, a 15-year-old girl was stabbed and subsequently died. Although both brothers were severely

injured, they were the only two arrested and later charged and indicted. Neither brother belonged to any gang, although the newspapers reported this as a gang feud. Furthermore, none of the white youths involved was arrested. At the trial, testimony revealed that the fight started after a group of youths called the Tam brothers "Chinks" and one youth hit George on the head with a rock. Racial harassment of Chinese in the community continued after this incident. The Tam family was forced to abandon their Charlestown apartment out of fear for their own personal safety. At a nearby housing project, at least 10 Chinese families were forced to move out to avoid threats of physical violence and hostility from their neighbors (Liu 1976).

In New York City, Peter Yew, a Chinese architect, was beaten by the police without provocation. He was charged with resisting arrest, and only through the united efforts of the Chinese community protesting police brutality were the charges later dropped. This and the Tam brothers incident are not isolated events but rather reflect continuing anti-Chinese sentiment and thus have a significant impact on the lives of Chinese Americans.

Foundations: The Chinese Culture

The cultural foundation of Chinese-American family life lies in the traditions of the families' Chinese ancestry. Confucianism, which most Westerners view as an esoteric and mystical philosophy, is an ongoing way of life for most Chinese families. Its role in dictating social decorum and cultural values is as important as is the Protestant ethic to the American mainstream. "Basic to Confucianism is the idea that the proper ordering of society depends upon the 'rectification of names', that is . . . common agreement as to the definition of roles and their relationships (Watts 1973, p. 85). Therefore, Chinese forms of address toward friends, cousins, grandparents, etc., are highly differentiated to define interpersonal relations on familial-social occasions along exact age, generation, and parental lineage dimensions. Underlying this linguistic complexity is an emphasis on the virtue of filial piety or "the unquestioning obedience to the parents and concern for . . . their needs and wishes with the intention of pleasing and comforting them. There is a great emphasis on subordination and mutual dependence rather than individual independence and antagonism" (Tseng 1973, p. 195). Such a value system dictates submissiveness toward authority and respect for tradition in interpersonal relations.

With regard to personal development, the traditional Chinese goal is to avoid "overdischarging" emotions and to maintain harmony with one's environment rather than attempting to conquer it. Although the modulation of emotions by rational functions is basic to both Eastern and Western thought, Confucian thought is characterized by the philosophy that:

> it does not view emotion and desire as evil by nature, and does not seek to suppress them. It accepts emotions and desires as ego-syntonic functions of the person, emphasizing how to handle, minimize, and express emotions with harmony, so that a person will not be led by emotions but guided by wisdom, a mental function of a higher level.
>
> (Tseng 1973, p. 194)

Confucius was concerned with the personality development of the late adolescent and adult rather than with the early childhood years. He viewed learning and environment as contributing greatly to personality formation and placed great value on education. Daily introspection was seen as another means of obtaining wisdom. However, there was no sense of urgency toward early social independence and emotional maturity; instead, such maturity was a goal of later life.

In this superficial survey of Confucianism, it is apparent that mutual dependence, respect for authority and tradition, modesty, harmony with one's environment, and control of emotions are stressed. These virtues in Chinese culture are contradicted by American cultural values which emphasize individualism, aggressiveness, and active mastery over one's environment. Consequently, the Chinese virtues are often translated by Westerners into negative traits of meekness, passivity, and emotional constriction.

Thus Chinese Americans attempting to adapt to mainstream American society cannot accomplish this adaptation by living according to the values of their Chinese cultural heritage. In essence, Chinese Americans are required not only to assimilate aspects of American culture but also to make many changes in their own lifestyle. The adaptation process is not a mere replacement of one culture with another but rather an attempted integration of the two. A positive integration (without role confusion or a sense of marginality) is possible only when societal institutions are willing to accommodate cultural differences, permitting retention of some

of the traditional culture's values and behaviors. Since American institutions as a whole do not yet facilitate such a positive integration, Chinese Americans and other minority groups must undergo the experience of massive, often traumatic, accommodation to the values of the larger society.

Another vantage point on the process of cultural adaptation is provided by Erikson (1963), who proposes the term "institutional attitudes." These attitudes reflect a "learned and conditioned ability to dramatize an . . . attitude which the culture chooses to preserve and put at the disposal of an individual . . . [and which] does not interfere with the individual's efficiency in meeting technological demands" (p. 183). When people share institutional attitudes and assumptions, they generally agree concerning social decorum and can communicate easily with one another; thus, solutions to problems of living are facilitated. For Chinese Americans, however, these assumptions differ from those of white Americans. As minority group members, their efficiency in meeting technological demands, i.e., their adaptation, is often affected by their "institutional attitudes." Since these attitudes usually operate beyond overt awareness, they must be addressed, made overt, and respected in a culturally plural society.

Chinese-American Cultural Practices

Chinese-American families, particularly first-generation immigrants, emphasize maintenance of Chinese cultural practices. Traditional values are reflected in the preparation of Chinese food and in eating habits. Value is placed on food retaining its natural form; thus, vegetables should be crisp, and fish and chicken should be served whole (meaning with the head on). There is usually a distaste for foods whose natural forms have been obliterated, such as cheeses and creamed vegetables.

Symbolic rituals and traditions often accompany the celebration of Chinese holidays and special events. For example, the color red symbolizes happiness and good luck in the Chinese culture. Therefore, money gifts in red envelopes are given during Chinese New Year, as are red eggs for the coming-out party of the 1-month-old child. Since "long noodles" is a homonym for longevity in Chinese, these noodles are served during the traditional celebration of a man's 70th or a woman's 60th birthday. Wedding customs stress the social hierarchy dictated by Confucian philosophy. In contrast to Western tradition, the groom's parents host the affair to celebrate their receiving a daughter-in-law into the family; the bride's parents are marrying their daughter out of the family and receive gifts from the groom's parents.

Socialization patterns further reflect Confucian thought concerning the proper ordering of society. The importance of extended families and the virtue of filial piety continue to dominate Chinese American thought and behavior. Male offspring are still expected to care for aging parents. (Thus, a nursing home placement is often perceived as a rejection of the elderly family member by his or her children.) Proper forms of address still dictate social relationships. The integrity of the family unit continues to be of central importance, and social events therefore are frequently family oriented. If babysitting is necessary, children are generally left with older siblings, relatives, or grandparents.

The Confucian value of scholarliness is reinforced by the emphasis placed on the Chinese language by many immigrant parents. Children even of second- and third-generation families often attend afterschool programs to learn Chinese language, history, and calligraphy.

Lyman (1971) reports that the group feelings and social needs which grow out of these Confucian traditions found institutionalized expression in Chinatowns across the United States. In these Chinatowns, clan associations developed; the concept was derived from lineage communities in China, united through male bonds of common ancestry. In the United States, the concept of lineage was broadened to include all those with the same surname.

The clan associations served as boundaries for the maintenance of incest taboos and as ties to lineal authorities. More importantly, they also served as immigrant aid societies, providing food, shelter, employment, and a sense of family amid an unfamiliar and hostile American society. The sense of family deserves emphasis, not only because of its importance in the Chinese culture, but also because immigration restrictions resulted in a shortage of Chinese women in the United States. Although the clan associations declined in importance when immigration restrictions were eased and wives reunited with their husbands, Chinatowns continue to contribute centrally to the lives of many Chinese Americans, providing goods, services, and social participation.

This superficial description of some Chinese American cultural practices obviously cannot capture their complexity. Although Confucian cultural values dictate many of these practices, it is important to recognize the psychological significance of these social customs in maintaining and accentuating a sense of ethnic identity. Individual and subgroup variations of these practices, moreover, are frequent. The interaction of Chinese with American practices cannot be minimized; nor can the effect of socioeconomic conditions or the sociopolitical climate on the changing social roles for Chinese Americans (Fong 1973). For example, the proper ordering of society has become less rigid; women tend to have a more active and equal status. The concept of extended families has been broadened to include more members. Thus, we can speak of a Chinese American culture that not only is unique but also is understandable in its historical and sociocultural context.

Acculturation: Its Impact on Identity

Every immigrant group must adapt its cultural values and practices to its new environment; this process is frequently called "acculturation." The term "acculturation," however, often misleadingly implies that there is a simple one-way process by which a dominant culture displaces a fading one. This assumption has led to popular belief in the American dream and the melting pot. While intended to foster nationalism and patriotism, the notion of the melting pot has been detrimental to ethnic pride and to the development of bicultural identity. It has ignored the impact of an immigrant group's particular culture in shaping the acculturation experience.

The melting-pot notion has been particularly inappropriate for Asian Americans and other groups whose physical characteristics and diverse cultures simply did not melt into the American mainstream. In fact, although Chinese immigration to the United States began over a century ago, Chinese Americans are not yet fully acculturated into the American mainstream. Chinatowns continue to thrive in the major U.S. cities, attesting to distinct ethnic needs. And Chinese Americans continue to look different.

It is important to examine the psychological consequences of the acculturation experience. Its strongest impact has been on the development of identity. As experienced by all immigrant groups, the clash between two cultures produces competing pressures to conform to one or the other set of values. When the disparity between two cultures is great, and/or attitudes exist which impede their integration, psychological conflict around identity issues is heightened. This heightened conflict has characterized the experience of most Asian Americans.

The painful quality of the acculturation experience is reflected in the following poem by Miyamoto (1971). Although the poem refers specifically to the Japanese American experience, it is applicable to Asian Americans in general.

Poem (to be read aloud)

when I was young
kids used to ask me
what are you?
I'd tell them what my mom told me
I'm an American
chin chin Chinaman
you're a Jap!
flashing hot inside
I'd go home
my mom would say
don't worry
he who walks alone
walks faster

people kept asking me
what are you?
and I would always answer
I'm an American
they'd say
no, what nationality?
I'm an American
that's where I was born
flashing hot inside
and when I'd tell them what they wanted to know
Japanese . . .
Oh I've been to Japan

I'd get it over with
so they could catalogue and file me
pigeon-hole me
so they'd know just how
to think of me
priding themselves
they could guess the difference
between Japanese and Chinese
they had me wishing I was what I'd
been seeing in movies and on TV
on billboards and in magazines

and I tried
while they were making laws in California
against us owning land
we were trying to be American
and laws against us intermarrying with
white people
we were trying to be American
when they put us in concentration camps
we were trying to be American
our people volunteered to fight against their
own country
trying to be American
when they dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima
and Nagasaki
we were still trying.

finally we made it
most of our parents
fiercely dedicated to give us
a good education
to give us everything they never had
we made it
now they use us as an example
to the blacks and browns
how we made it
how we overcame.

but there was always
someone asking me
what are you?

now I answer
I'm an Asian
and they say
why do you want to separate yourselves
now I say
I'm Japanese
and they say
don't you know this is the greatest country in
the world
now I say in America
I'm part of the third world people
and they say
if you don't like it here
why don't you go back.

Joann Miyamoto (1971)

Asian Americans encounter negative attitudes, discriminatory practices, and cultural conflict as they venture from the family into the larger community. This transition is usually marked by entry into school, the time at which a sense of identity beyond that of a family member normally must be developed. For most Americans of the majority culture, parental values are harmonious with those of the school and community; this provides reasonable environmental consistency and supports psychological growth. The Asian American child, however, lacks the security of being among supportive and familiar family substitutes (Maruyama 1971).

With entry into school, the child normally enters a "stage of industry" (Erickson 1963). During this developmental period, the child must learn to win recognition and acceptance by his or her productivity and successful social interaction with others. When this recognition is based not primarily on the child's performance but rather on physical and cultural characteristics (e.g., being Asian American), there exists the psychological danger of a sense of inadequacy and inferiority. Although a global, less differentiated sense of identity is developmentally appropriate during this early school period, it is not permitted of the Asian American child. Quite early, the Asian American student is confronted with a sense of being different; what's more, the child must justify parental values and practices when these clash with those of the school or white community.

During adolescence, normally a "stage of identity" (Erikson 1963), the psychological consequences of acculturation are even stronger. In this developmental period, the primary concern is with how one appears in the eyes of others; there is a search for a sense of continuity and sameness. The ideological outlooks, clannishness, ritualistic dress codes, etc., so characteristic of adolescents, reflect their need to redefine their identity as individuals and as adults. Rebelliousness against parents is normally intense and serves to define what one is not. The Asian American adolescent often does not need to seek subgroup supports for this rebellion, since the white majority society typically is supportive of the rejection of "traditional" Asian-American values. Consequently, the acculturation process complicates the adequate resolution of the Asian-American adolescent's identity crisis.

The impact of the acculturation process on adolescent identity is also evident in the tensions between China-born and American-born Chinese-American teenagers. ("juk cok" and "juk sing," respectively). These groups have maintained separate social patterns. Their polarization of acceptable cultural values and behaviors speaks to the intensity of their identity struggle. Many China-born adolescents maintain their "Chinese" characteristics and condescendingly reject Western culture as lacking the substance and refinements of the Chinese culture. Similarly, many American-born Chinese adolescents embrace American characteristics and reject Chinese cultural expressions as anachronistic and provincial. This stereotyping

and this projection of cultural traits have negative consequences for psychological growth.

When the "identity crisis" is prolonged by cultural conflict, maladaptive functioning often results. One possible consequence is the rejection of the "bad" part of one's ethnic identity, leading to a considerable loss of self-esteem. Another is the continuing ambivalence over ethnic identity, resulting in a marginal fit in society. These consequences have been described by concepts such as "the marginal man," "the traditionalist," and "racial self-hatred" (Sue and Sue 1973). All of these terms reflect failure to achieve a comfortable resolution of one's cultural identity.

An identity conflict is normal not only among adolescents, but also among all immigrants, both children and adults. The conflict is more intense for first and second generation immigrants, whose "visibility" tends to be higher. Nevertheless, there has been little recognition of the immigrant's need to mourn the loss of a country; in an important sense, the acculturation process is an attempt to form a new identity that retains certain values of the lost country. For many Chinese Americans, Chinatowns have represented a "solution" to the stress of acculturation, since they have permitted psychological isolation from the white American society. Chinatowns have provided a means for Chinese immigrants to meet family, social, and economic needs without recourse to the white community. This isolation has been reinforced by the white community through discriminatory practices toward Chinese Americans.

It is important to recognize the role of the sociopolitical climate, which sanctioned negative institutional attitudes toward Asian Americans. Its impact on the acculturation process and the resolution of identity is significant. The stereotypes promulgated by the public media in the United States clearly intensified the identity conflict for Chinese Americans (Sue and Kitano 1973). No Chinese American escapes the experience of discrimination, or of the predefinition of his or her behavior and identity by the mainstream culture. Stereotypes such as "coolie," "chink," "sly and inscrutable," "sneaky," "exotic," "submissive," "passive," "subservient," and "gook" have pervaded Asian American history since 1850. Indiscriminate names sometimes used to address all Chinese Americans (e.g., "Suzie Wong" or "Charlie Chan") are derogatory.

Since World War II, positive stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as "hard-working" and "taking care of their own," have emerged. The apparent success of the group has been held up as a model for other minorities. However, this complimentary viewpoint has overlooked the existence of problems and instilled a sense of guilt and failure in Asian Americans who are exceptions to the success story. Furthermore, it has prevented the delivery of services to Asian Americans who "are not complaining" and "don't need help."

It is evident that these stereotypes are oversimplifications of complex cultural phenomena. In essence, the failure to understand the culture of Chinese Americans has led to many stereotypes. In turn, these stereotypes have been used to replace an indepth understanding. The common caricature that "all Chinese look alike" typifies this mentality. Consequently, irrespective of the degree of acculturation, no Chinese American escapes the experience of being viewed as different or of being asked, "Where do you come from—China?" "Are you Chinese or Japanese?" or "How come you don't speak with an accent?"

For the Asian American, the experience of stereotypes heightens the identity conflict. When the acculturation process and solutions to identity development are systematically impeded, the psychological dangers of role confusion and marginality in society are great. When social and institutional conditions persist to perpetuate stereotypes or marginal status, the question of "Who am I?" becomes unanswerable. Transitional psychological crises then become permanent and damaging to psychological competence.

Implications for Human Services to Asian Americans

In light of the preceding discussion, some implications can be drawn for the delivery of human services, particularly in the area of mental health. Although individual racism will always exist, it is hoped that systematic biases in human service delivery systems can and will be eliminated. At the risk of overgeneralizing, some common biases in thinking will be discussed as they affect the delivery of services to Asian Americans. These tendencies often operate outside of conscious awareness and need to be recognized by mental health professionals working with Asian Americans or other minority groups.

Definition of Pathology as Deviation From the Majority. There is a tendency to define pathology as deviation from the behavior of the cultural majority. Several erroneous assumptions underlie this definition. First, it reflects a simplistic, unidimensional view of human development. A unidimensional concept of development generally presumes that all individuals, including those from different cultural groups, must follow the same general developmental course and find the same type of solution to problems of adaptation. A multidimensional concept, in contrast, recognizes the impact of multiple environmental influences and the validity of more than one developmental path.

Second, the definition of pathology as deviation from the majority reflects an egocentric tendency to use one's own experiences as the criteria for nonpathological behavior. This tendency ignores the existence of different perspectives, particularly those shared by a minority. As sociologists have shown, normative behavior is culturally specific. In other words, what is "normative" behavior in an Asian society may be "pathological" in Western society and vice versa.

Third, this definition of pathology implies a good-bad dichotomy of human behavior, with behavior differing from the majority's implicitly defined as "bad." Essentially, the erroneous belief goes as follows: "There is only one correct way to behave; since I behave this way and consider myself normal, anyone who behaves differently must be pathological."

Since mental health practitioners deal with issues of pathology, they must recognize that the professional situation is never value free or independent of its sociocultural context. Professionals working with different cultural groups need to understand the values of those groups to avoid systematic biases in interpreting behavior. It is also important to apply multiple criteria to understanding behavior, recognizing that different cultural assumptions will dictate different solutions to problems of living.

Use of Stereotypes. There is a tendency to categorize people by exaggerating their characteristics. When this tendency is applied to groups, stereotypes develop. As highlighted previously, these stereotypes have worked to the disadvantage of Asian Americans. Positive stereotypes have been used to justify the failure to deliver needed services to the group, and negative ones have been used systematically to deprive Asian Americans of their civil rights.

Stereotypes are usually based on cursory information about cultural values and, thus, should not serve as the basis for normative expectations. Furthermore, while it is a fact that great similarity exists among Asian Americans as a group, the use of stereotypes ignores the variation among individuals. To confound matters, Asians in non-Asian settings may display somewhat more stereotypic behavior by virtue of the expectations of non-Asians. In other words, some stereotyped behaviors may be situation-specific or imposed by the environment. More importantly, an understanding of group dynamics suggests that cohesion and behavioral similarity will increase in a group when it moves into an unfamiliar or hostile environment.

Professionals working with Asian Americans or other minority group members need to recognize the stresses which the use of stereotypes places on both individual and group behavior. It is clear that the use of stereotypes is damaging to self-esteem and interferes with the development of an integrated sense of personal identity.

Overgeneralization: The Claim of No Difference. There is a tendency at times to overgeneralize crossculturally. While many similarities exist among cultures which deserve recognition, it is usually the differences which create anxiety in client and professional alike. Denying or minimizing differences is a common response of professionals to this anxiety. Regardless of the reasons for the denial, it ignores the psychological reality experienced by many Asian Americans who do feel and behave differently in some respects. The erroneous belief that "we're all the same; we're simply human beings," ignores cultural differences and sets up unrealistic expectations that Asian Americans can and should behave like white Americans. This belief impedes the successful development of Asian American identity and reflects a lack of empathy.

Double-Bind Situations. There is an unwitting tendency to construct "double-bind" situations in which certain behaviors are simultaneously encouraged and devalued. For example, an Asian American may be commended for his humility but simultaneously viewed as weak, passive, and ineffectual. The double bind is also evident when Asian Americans are denied services because "they're not complaining," but are accused of being "militant" when they do complain.

These instances are manifest in the structure of human service delivery systems as well as in specific interview situations. Therefore, safeguards against these tendencies must be implemented through institutional policy and individual awareness. For example, service delivery administrators must be particularly sensitive to the danger of systematically denying services to Asian American communities because they "take care of their own."

Failure to Appreciate Immigration as a Traumatic Process. There is often a failure to appreciate the psychological trauma of immigration. It is overlooked that immigrants need to mourn not only the loss of loved ones but also the loss of a country. Behavioral responses to the separation are frequently reactive, rather than reflecting enduring aspects of personality structure.

For example, the presence of depressive phenomena in a counseling or therapy situation may well be due to the sense of marginality and alienation which most immigrants initially experience. The immigrant needs time to evolve a new ethnic identity. When this is not acknowledged and he or she is forced into stereotyped roles or labeled as mentally ill, the negative consequences for identity and self-esteem are profound.

Individual vs. Group Identity. Although there is significant overlap between one's identity as an individual and that as a member of an ethnic group, they are distinct forms of identity. It is a recognized phenomenon that individual behavior varies as a function of group membership. When a particular group has psychological permanence and significance (e.g., families or ethnic groups), consistent behavioral characteristics and identities unique to the group develop. There is a core to such a group's identity which subsumes more than the characteristics of the individuals within the group. This phenomenon of group identity has been challenged as an artifact but is accepted by systems theorists and often noticed in therapy groups.

Thus, the concept of ethnic group identity is as real as that of individual identity. Furthermore, it is possible to separate the nuances of a group's collective identity from those of an individual's personal identity. It is important not to regard these forms of identity as synonymous. When this distinction is not made, the tendency is to assume that all individuals within a cultural group are experiencing conflict when there is stress in the group as a whole.

Acculturation as a One-Way Process. There is a tendency to view acculturation as a one-way process in which an immigrant group "gives up" its own culture in order to embrace another. This is an aspect of the "melting pot" theory, which generally fails to recognize both the continued existence of immigrant cultures and the influence of these cultures on the American mainstream.

Finally, there is a related tendency to define adaptation as the capacity of a person to conform to societal norms. This definition could potentially include as adaptive the individual's integration into a subsystem, such as his or her conformity to the norms of a minority group. However, in practice, it usually refers only to the degree of "fit" between the individual and the mainstream culture.

While mental health practitioners are sometimes quick to view overconformity to the cultural traditions of a minority group as "maladaptive," they are less inclined to view overconforming to white society as such. Instead, there is an inclination to view the latter as "adequate acculturation." In fact, the concepts of marginality and racial self-hatred are relevant when acculturation is achieved only through denial and rejection of part of one's ethnicity. For Asian Americans and other minority group members, a conforming "adjustment" to white American culture may not reflect genuine adaptation, if this adjustment is at the expense of self-esteem. Since a healthy cultural adaptation results instead from the *integration* of two cultures, we share a responsibility as mental health professionals to encourage and enhance the development of a truly bicultural identity.

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Chapter 6

Mainland Puerto Rican Communities: A Psychosocial Overview

Christine Torres-Matrullo

ABSTRACT

Mainland Puerto Ricans represent a growing portion of our minority community, particularly on the east coast. Yet few of us are familiar with the history of Puerto Rico, the cultural values of traditional Puerto Ricans, and the typical conflicts faced by Puerto Rican families during and following migration. This chapter describes all of these, with particular attention to family dynamics. One particularly traumatic aspect of migration for some families is the movement into a society that categorizes some children as black and others white within the same Puerto Rican family, because of their differing skin tones. The loss of the extended family network is also traumatic. Awareness of the importance of this network and of Puerto Rican cultural values more generally has led to a number of models for alternative service delivery to Puerto Rican and other Hispanic groups. Several of these models are reviewed, and the author also describes her own experience helping to strengthen mental health services to the Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia.

Introduction

Descriptions of the Hispanic population in the United States often imply that this category consists of one homogeneous group. This inference has been erroneous because Hispanic communities include a number of ethnic subgroups. Generalization from one Spanish-speaking group to another is, in fact, quite difficult because these groups differ along a number of dimensions: length of residence in this country; degree of acculturation; fluency in English; employment and educational opportunities; socioeconomic status; political ideology; reasons for migration; and family structure.

The Puerto Rican community is one of the ethnic groups subsumed under the general rubric of the Hispanic or Spanish-speaking/Spanish-surnamed population. According to an update of the U.S. Census in March 1976, there are about 11 million persons of Hispanic origin in the United States, with an estimated 6.6 million of Mexican origin, 1.8 million of Puerto Rican origin, 700,000 of Cuban origin, and 800,000 of other Central or South American origins. Since there is a large concentration of Puerto Ricans on the east coast and this is the population with which the writer has had the most experience, this particular Hispanic subgroup is the focus of this chapter. While the chapter attempts to correct the misconception of homogeneity among Hispanic groups, areas of similarity among these groups are also underscored.

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Efforts to identify and assist Puerto Ricans are severely impaired by language barriers, a lack of cultural understanding, fragmentation of our human service delivery system, and the conspicuous absence of reliable information on the current status of Puerto Rican families. One recent study on the status of Puerto Ricans on the mainland, although no panacea for the lack of detailed information, is the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future*. It clearly reaffirms the conclusions of many earlier smaller surveys, which indicated that members of the Puerto Rican community are among the poorest and most underserved citizens of the Northeastern United States. The report includes the following findings:

1. According to such key indices as income, education, and employment levels, Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland are a seriously disadvantaged minority group.
2. The median educational level for Puerto Ricans on the mainland is lower than that of other minorities, except for Native Americans.
3. Puerto Ricans have larger and younger families than does the general population.

Thirty percent of Puerto Rican families are headed by a woman; at the poverty level, 60 percent of Puerto Rican households are headed by a woman.

4. Within the mainland United States, 83 percent of Puerto Ricans reported Spanish as the primary language spoken at home.

Health, educational, and social services in the United States were established long before the Puerto Rican population was large enough to warrant substantial modification of service delivery practices. Thus, language and cultural barriers to receiving these services compound the many problems faced by Puerto Rican families.

Historical Background: Migration and Settlement

To understand the present-day Puerto Rican, some knowledge of the island and its history is essential.

Puerto Rico is a small island, 100 miles long and 35 miles wide, located in the tropical Caribbean. It is grossly overpopulated, with 2.8 million inhabitants. The original denizens were the Taino Indians, a peace-loving group exposed to frequent attacks by other Caribbean Indians, the Caribs, who were as warlike as the Tainos were pacific.

Puerto Rico was "discovered" and colonized by the Spanish conquistadors, who proceeded to establish their way of life on the island. Although the island did not have many accessible natural resources (there was no gold or silver, and the tropical storms and thick jungles were frightening to immigrants), it did attract people from the continent, especially Spaniards.

With the colonization process, the Indian population eventually disappeared. Although there are some Indian features found among Puerto Ricans today, for all practical purposes the Taino culture was destroyed during the early colonial period.

As the Indian population dwindled, black slaves were imported from Africa in large numbers. The Africans brought with them elements of their own culture, many of which have remained evident in Puerto Rico to this day. There are some areas on the island where black communities have maintained a pure racial line and where many of the original African customs have resisted the passing of time.

These three groups—Indian, African, and Spanish—mingled in many ways on a small, geographically isolated island. By the 19th century, the Puerto Rican had emerged as a distinct personality. He or she could be one of a number of colors: white, black, Indian, or mixed. The pride of the Indian, the "hidalguismo" (flamboyancy and idealism) of the Spaniard, and the strength and fatalism of the African blacks were incorporated into Puerto Rican personality.

While imitating Spaniards in many respects, Puerto Ricans gradually developed their own culture. During the 19th century, the first Puerto Rican poets, painters, scientists, and other professionals appeared as distinct from their Spanish predecessors. Puerto Ricans added many words and customs to the original Spanish culture, transformed the Spanish guitar into several local stringed instruments, added the Indian "guiro" and the African drums, and developed a distinctly Puerto Rican kind of music.

By the end of the 19th century, Puerto Ricans were beginning to struggle for increased autonomy from Spain. In 1898, however, Puerto Rico became a possession of the United States during the Spanish American War. Puerto Rican life was deeply affected by the arrival of U.S. forces. American culture was alien to the island's way of life. Even present-day Puerto Ricans, who have learned to accept and adopt some aspects of American culture, remain distinctly and fiercely Puerto Rican.

In 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship and popular election of both houses of the legislature on the island. The governor and cabinet officials were appointed by the President of the United States until 1947, when the first Puerto Rican governor was elected by popular vote. A new political status (the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico, a commonwealth status) was instituted in an attempt to resolve conflicting political views concerning the appropriate degree of independence from the United States.

The problem of political status is not simply a matter of government for Puerto Ricans; it is also a deeply rooted problem of identity. The Puerto Ricans are searching for political and social institutions which will help them develop and maintain a genuine sense of identity in the presence of the many political, educational, and social changes with which they are continually confronted.

After the establishment of the commonwealth status, there was a marked change from a predominantly agricultural economy to a rapidly growing industrial society. This brought about the dramatic

rise of a middle class and a shift from rural to urban and suburban life. The growth of the cities on the island also brought with it the proliferation of slums.

The post-World War II years witnessed the first major migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland United States. Like other immigrant groups, Puerto Ricans came to the United States in search of better occupational and educational opportunities. Most of the migrants are poor and minimally educated. Puerto Rican migration rates vary with the level of the mean U.S. income and the extent of occupational opportunities available (Senior 1965).

In the early 1970s, the U.S. economy began to turn sour, and unemployment became widespread. There were many factory closings in New York and in other large cities with high concentrations of Puerto Ricans. Although the recession had affected the island's economy as well, high unemployment in this country resulted in reverse migration to Puerto Rico. Since 1970, there has been a consistent trend of reverse migration to the island each year. At the same time, Puerto Ricans have continued to come to the mainland, even when it is apparent that there is a scarcity of unskilled jobs here. Most of the migration is to Chicago rather than to New York.

Puerto Rico's present situation is one of change and crisis from many different points of view: social, political, economic, and religious. The problem of identity, always a major issue for Puerto Ricans on the island, becomes even more serious when they migrate to the mainland and deal with the clash of cultures and the additional crisis of language barrier. In addition, unlike most earlier immigrant groups (Irish, German, Jewish, etc.), the Puerto Rican is considered nonwhite. Thus, the Puerto Rican migrant joins the ranks of Mexicans, Indians, Asian Americans, and blacks in the United States. These groups have never been completely accepted by whites and have remained marginal members of this society.

Central Puerto Rican Cultural Values

The Puerto Rican Family. The family is the dominant institution in Puerto Rican island culture (Brameld 1959; Hill, Stycos, and Back 1959). Strongly characteristic of the Puerto Rican family is a strict differentiation of sex roles. The male traditionally occupies a position of strong authority, governed by the norms of *hombre de respeto* (a man who commands respect) and *machismo*. The Puerto Rican female, on the other hand, is expected to be self-sacrificing, restricted to home, chaste, dependent, and respectful of the male. Almost universally the female is seen as inferior to the male; Puerto Rican society is typically constructed in accordance with this belief, which can be attributed to the influences of the Catholic church and a Spanish legacy (Beytagh 1967; Fitzpatrick 1971; Hollingshead and Redlich 1968). The rigid sex roles are generally prevalent throughout Puerto Rican island culture, regardless of social class or educational level (Seda-Bonilla 1957; Steward 1966).

The predominant type of family structure is the patriarchal extended family, although in recent years there has been a trend in the direction of the nuclear family among middle-class Puerto Ricans. The extended family includes children, parents, grandparents, *hijos de crianza* (informal, sometimes temporary adoptions), uncles, aunts, and cousins. Family ties are extended to distant relatives, so that the word *primo* (cousin) is used to include even very distant cousins.

Since most Puerto Ricans are at least nominally Catholic, a large number of couples are married within the Catholic church. Among the poor, particularly in the mountain regions, common law marriages are frequent. There is no stigma attached to these marriages on the island, and the terms "husband" and "wife" are often used without differentiating between legal and common law unions.

The Extended Family as a Support System: The Impact of Migration. For three generations of a Puerto Rican family to live in a single household is not at all unusual, since the extended family is seen as a single unit. This multigenerational unit provides a strong support system which can be extremely helpful in times of crisis. A crisis within part of the family will automatically become common knowledge to the extended family members, who will then contribute in whatever way possible to resolve it. (Even in the presence of strong male authority, the support system is typically organized and maintained by the women in the family.)

One of the troublesome situations faced by mainland Puerto Ricans is the relative absence of this support system. Crises often become more serious when the extended family is not available, and family relationships become strained; during a cultural crisis such as that presented by migration,

the family is "the institution which is most directly challenged in the process of assimilation" (Fitzpatrick 1971, p. 77).

The basis for many of the adjustments required in family roles when Puerto Ricans migrate to the mainland is economic. The woman is often better able than the man to find employment, since she brings sewing and similar skills to the city, while the man typically brings agrarian skills. As a matter of economic necessity, the Puerto Rican woman in the United States often goes out to work, gaining earning power and some degree of independence from her husband. Increasing American influence has brought about changes in Puerto Rican male-female relationships, even on the island; the male's authority is considerably reduced, and the extended family's role has been fragmented.

An increase in intergenerational conflict is also a typical result of migration. Puerto Rican children are brought up to be respectful toward their parents, and their behavior is relatively submissive. With exposure to mainland values, there is a shift from parents and elders to peers as a reference group, and children begin to question the behavioral patterns they have been brought up to follow.

The mainland culture stresses individual freedom and assertive, independent behavior on the part of children and adolescents, while at home the Puerto Rican parent tries desperately to enforce traditional values of obedience and respect. The resulting tensions are frequently compounded by the fact that adults in positions of authority outside the home (e.g., teachers and counselors) often encourage both children and parents to accept the new values that may be so foreign to them.

Heightened intergenerational conflict may also occur between the grandparents and the parents of Puerto Rican families in cultural transition. It is rare for an extended family to migrate en masse. Furthermore, the fact that the prevalent social environment on the mainland is structured around the nuclear family puts additional strain on ties to grandparents and other extended family members. In the continental United States, the obligations of family members toward the care of grandparents have been seriously attenuated; elderly people are rarely prominent figures in mainstream American homes and are often removed from the nuclear household.

Another important factor weakening extended family ties among low-income Puerto Rican migrant families is the nature of the welfare system on the mainland. In many respects, public assistance assumes functions formerly performed by the extended family network, such as caring for the sick or disabled and providing child care services.

Acculturation and the Problem of Identity

In his book on minority groups in the United States, Rose (1968) describes the principal ways in which these ethnic groups adjust to the dominant culture: assimilation, acculturation, amalgamation, and cultural pluralism. Some ethnic groups appear to have been almost completely assimilated. The Puerto Ricans, however, remain a clearly identifiable minority community. In fact, Hispanic groups in general are among the least assimilated ethnic divisions in this country.

The term "acculturation" rather than "assimilation" is most often used to describe the experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Genuine assimilation has not been possible because "assimilation has not taken place until the immigrant is able to function in the host community without encountering prejudice or discrimination" (Gordon 1964, p. 63). It is clear that Puerto Ricans in this country are still the victims of prejudice and discrimination and continue to be a visibly and audibly different cultural minority (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Gordon 1964).

The problem of "hostility in an alien world" (Opler 1967) does not disappear with acculturation. For the immigrant there are almost always the painful realities of deprivation of status and social rejection (Silva 1966). Psychological reactions of oppressed immigrant groups to their devalued status include aggression and hostility, anxiety states, somatic disorders, a loss of self-esteem, and a sense of personal inadequacy.

When Puerto Ricans, particularly those from rural backgrounds, enter the mainland United States, the lack of defined status is confusing and provokes anxiety. Both men and women attempt to identify themselves within the new society according to the values of their own culture. Community attachment, when available, is a vital factor in immigrant assimilation because it contributes crucially to the maintenance of a sense of identity. When community or extended family support is not available, the immigrant faces a particularly severe identity crisis; losing the foundations of personal identity before having the opportunity to develop a

new identity can pose a serious threat to the very organization of personality (Fitzpatrick 1971; Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Gordon 1964; Handlin 1962).

For example, a phenomenon that frequently appears in the mental health literature is that Puerto Ricans have difficulty dealing with aggressive feelings (Mehlman 1961; Rothberg 1964; Wolf 1952). It is often observed that, when Puerto Ricans talk about feelings of "nervousness," they describe situations in which they clearly feel angry. In addition, there appears to be much guilt over angry feelings, suppression and repression of assertiveness and aggressiveness, and the need to preserve an appearance of outward dignity and calm at the expense of psychological needs (Rothberg 1964). Direct assertiveness is frowned upon in Puerto Rican culture. This pattern is problematic in a society which stresses direct self-expression and implicitly includes assertive, aggressive qualities among those necessary for upward mobility.

While all three generations of the Puerto Rican family experience these cultural conflicts, the second generation in particular is likely to experience a "cultural limbo" (Fitzpatrick 1971). Herberg (1955) identifies the following aspects of the identity process typically experienced by the family over time: at first, the immigrants are strangers to the new culture and are very conscious of their ethnic identity; eventually the second generation breaks away from the traditional lifestyle of their immigrant parents to take on the new culture more fully; and, finally, the third generation looks for some symbols of their ethnic past to give them a fuller sense of their cultural identity.

Pervading the various forms of stress on the Puerto Rican family system is what Fitzpatrick (1971) describes as "the slow and steady substitution of impersonal norms, norms of the system rather than norms of personal relationships" (p. 97). This substitution is potentially devastating to traditional Puerto Rican culture, since values determining the nature of interpersonal relationships in this culture differ in many respects from corresponding North American values.

For example, among the most valued Puerto Rican traits is *dignidad*, which "refers to the integrity or worth that is assumed each person originally has, and that should be jealously guarded" (Saavadra de Roca, 1963, p. 122, author's translation). Tumin (1961) feels that this concept allows the members of even the most deprived classes to maintain a sense of their personal worth since it is assumed that every person is born with *dignidad* regardless of his or her social position.

The important values of *personalismo* and *individualismo* are closely interrelated. The former refers to "the inclination of Latin people, in general, to relate to and trust persons, rather than institutions, and their dislike for formal, impersonal structure and organizations" (Abad, Ramos, and Boyce 1974, p. 588). Underlying *personalismo* is the emphasis placed on *individualismo*, which is a form of individualism based on the inner importance of the person. It is important to distinguish this concept from the individualism espoused by U.S. culture, "which values the individual in terms of his ability to compete for higher social and economic status" (Fitzpatrick 1971, p. 90).

It is easy to see how this complex of interpersonal values, differing as it does from those of mainstream American culture, can be a source of difficulty in the Puerto Rican family's efforts to become established in its new environment. This interpersonal relationship style also has implications for service delivery to Puerto Rican families, which is discussed later in the chapter.

A Buffer Between Old and New Cultures: "The Island In the City"

Puerto Ricans have followed the example of previous immigrant groups in clustering in their own ethnic communities; they have created an "island in the city" (Wakefield 1959) within which Spanish is spoken, native food eaten, Latin music listened to, etc. There are, of course, other factors, such as housing availability, which contribute to the creation of *the barrio* (the neighborhood). The cultural familiarity of the *barrio*, however, keeps many Puerto Ricans from leaving, even when they can locate better housing elsewhere.

An extensive study of cultural assimilation among Puerto Ricans was done by Gordon (1964), who was particularly interested in the problem of identity in the *barrio*. Gordon found little or no assimilation of Puerto Ricans on any level; instead, he found a strong assertion of the significance of the traditional island culture and language among Puerto Ricans in the United States. The tendency for Puerto Ricans to remain in cultural enclaves both reflects and perpetuates their attachment to the island lifestyle.

Several other factors also appear to impede the assimilation process. First, the extremely limited educational opportunities for Puerto Ricans (particularly the Spanish-speaking majority) block their advancement in mainland society. Second, Puerto Ricans are merely a 3-hour plane trip away from their homeland. They are constantly engaged in a two-way flow between this country and the island, and thus the assimilation process is continually disrupted. Finally, with the trend toward "ethnic pride" and cultural pluralism in the 1960s, pride in Puerto Rican cultural roots was strengthened. Had the extreme antiforeigner sentiment of the 1940s persisted, Puerto Ricans may well have had to assimilate sooner, as did many other ethnic groups, in order to survive.

Migration and Racial Conflict

Another form of acculturation conflict to be discussed affects all family members, not by virtue of their position in the family structure but rather according to their physical characteristics. This conflict is engendered by the difference in racial attitudes between the island population and the larger U.S. society. For a variety of historical reasons which will not be discussed here (see Fitzpatrick 1971; Rodriguez-Cruz 1965), there is far less racial prejudice in Puerto Rico than on the mainland. Particularly among the lower classes, Puerto Ricans do not describe themselves as black or white. A more sensitive classification system is used instead, which takes into account the wide range of skin colors, hair textures, fineness or thickness of features, eye colors, etc., observable among the Puerto Rican people. It would not be accurate to say that there is no racial prejudice in Puerto Rico; prejudice does, however, operate along different lines than in North America and is so closely tied up with class prejudice as to be virtually indistinguishable from it.

North American racial attitudes clearly have had an effect on the racial situation in Puerto Rico, although it is not possible to assume a simple causal relationship:

> There are latent forces of prejudice in our [Puerto Rican] historical evolution and the racist intolerance that characterizes North American culture, which exercises an intense and general influence over us, lies close in wait for us.
>
> Rodriguez-Cruz, 1964, quoting from "Informe al Honorable Governador del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico," 1959, p. 94; author's translation

Certainly the attitudes of racial prejudice which the Puerto Rican migrants confront on the mainland often come as a shock to them. Dark-skinned Puerto Ricans may have the experience of being discriminated against in their search for employment and/or housing on the basis of language difference, region of origin, and racial characteristics. To a certain extent, North American racism poses a threat to Puerto Rican unity in that light-skinned Puerto Ricans often seek the benefits of being considered white in this society and resent efforts to emphasize the racial unity of Puerto Rico (Longres 1974).

To the degree that mainland racial attitudes are adopted, they may also pose a threat to family unity. Because of the heterogeneity of the Puerto Rican gene pool, members of a single nuclear family may vary greatly with regard to phenotypic racial characteristics. Thus a light-skinned sibling may begin to adopt a prejudicial attitude toward his darker sisters and brothers or may begin to feel ashamed of having a dark-skinned mother or father (Thomas 1967). Racial conflict within the family is exacerbated in cases in which parents were raised in Puerto Rico, while their children have grown up on the streets of mainland U.S. cities. Fortunately, there does not seem to be a trend toward wholesale acceptance of North American racial prejudice on the part of migrating Puerto Ricans, and many hope that the adoption of racism on the part of Puerto Ricans will be outweighed by the positive influence which an infusion of Puerto Rican racial attitudes could have on the continental United States.

Implications for Human Services Delivery to Puerto Ricans

It has become clear during the past decade that Puerto Rican and other Hispanic groups are still essentially struggling along with the mental health problems engendered or aggravated by migration to the mainland; in most Hispanic communities, the officially available social services are functionally unavailable in light of language and cultural barriers.

Mental health professionals, particularly Hispanic professionals, have been struggling to adapt existing models and to find alternative models of service delivery to Hispanic communities. Padilla and Ruiz (1973), in a monograph entitled *Latino Mental*

Health, have identified three models for more effective services to Spanish-speaking/Spanish-surnamed populations. These are the "Professional Adaptation Model," the "Family Adaptation Model," and the "Barrio Service Center Model." These important models will be described briefly, with examples of their application in various Hispanic communities in the United States. Finally, the Hahnemann Community Mental Health Center model will be discussed in terms of its philosophy, current problems, and possible future directions.

The Professional Adaptation Model. In what has been termed "the Professional Adaptation Model," the staff of community mental health centers receive special training to adapt to certain cultural aspects of their Spanish-speaking populations. For example, the importance of more time flexibility is stressed, as well as respect for the polarized nature of sex roles and the sharp intergenerational boundaries. It is important to note the emphasis here. Rather than requiring the client population to adapt further to the existing models of service delivery, the staff are expected to modify services to meet their clients' culturally based expectations.

An example of this Professional Adaptation Model has been reported by Karno and Morales (1971). In their attempt to design a community mental health center for Hispanics in East Los Angeles, the writers report such priorities as recruiting bilingual, bicultural personnel and planning the location of the center in such a way as to ensure that it is in the heart of the community. In addition, the treatment program is oriented toward prevention through mental health consultation to community service agencies, and it also emphasizes crisis intervention.

The Family Adaptation Model. In this model, the Hispanic family is recognized as playing an important role in providing emotional support in the face of the many stresses experienced by Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. The family is used either as a model for therapist roles or directly as the vehicle of treatment (i.e., the extended family seen as a unit and in various combinations).

For example, one group of Hispanic professionals instituted a "culturally relevant" group psychotherapy program for schizophrenics from the Puerto Rican population, based on knowledge of the family structure: the use of a male cotherapist as an authoritarian, dominant father figure, and a female cotherapist who projects the submissive, nurturant, mother figure (Maldonado-Sierra et al. 1960).

The Barrio Service Center Model. The third model of service delivery identified by Padilla and Ruiz is what they call the Barrio Service Center Model. This model is based on the conviction that the stress experienced by Hispanic populations is largely economic in origin. The Barrio Service Center is a community center staffed with personnel who can effectively intervene to meet the social needs of the surrounding clientele (e.g., jobs, bank loans, and/or other economic services, in addition to more typical social services).

Four examples of the Barrio Service Center Model exist in the literature—two located in Puerto Rican communities in the Northeast and two in Chicano communities in the Midwest.

Lehman (1971) reported on three storefront neighborhood service centers in New York City which were informal and accessible, with an open-door policy and the use of community residents as staff. In New Haven, Conn., Abad et al. (1974) established La Clinica Hispana, which also provides walk-in coverage, a variety of therapeutic modalities, home visits, and transportation. The staff include both professional and indigenous workers, with community leaders among them.

The third example of this model is La Frontera, an outpatient mental health clinic in a Chicano community in Tucson, Ariz. The staff of La Frontera devote time and energy toward community outreach, including the use of the mass media for mental health education. The fourth and final model, described by Schensul (1974), is a community-controlled youth facility in Chicago called El Centro de la Causa. Important aspects of this program are mental health consultation and training, English classes, and drug education workshops.

The Hahnemann Community Mental Health Center Model. The Hahnemann CMHC Model is a mental health service delivery system that has been working toward an integration of the foregoing models. It is far from perfect, but it does represent an attempt to incorporate staff education, a family orientation, and attention to the catchment area population's wider social needs. This service delivery model for Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican clients exists currently at the Hahnemann CMHC in Philadelphia, which the author participated in developing and where she now works as a staff psychologist.

Philadelphia has more Puerto Ricans than most island and other mainland cities. Many of the Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia are recent arrivals to the country and are residing within Hahnemann's catchment area. The mental health services offered at Hahnemann are functionally unavailable to the Puerto Rican population because of language and cultural barriers. This was a matter of concern to the Hahnemann administration and a source of disappointment and anger in the Puerto Rican community, which felt that the "care-giving" institution was not really giving care to a large segment of their population.

By 1974, it was clear that there was a desperate need for coordination, development, and expansion of clinical services to Hahnemann's Spanish-speaking population. The Puerto Rican Mental Health Group was organized to attempt to meet these needs. The group is bilingual and interdisciplinary in nature, including Puerto Rican and other Hispanic professionals and paraprofessionals. Throughout recruitment efforts, mental health workers (paraprofessionals) sought natives of Philadelphia or those who know the city well.

At the time of inception, the following goals were outlined:

1. To obtain input from the Puerto Rican community regarding mental health needs as the community defines them. This community-based needs assessment enabled the group to help design programing to improve the delivery of services to Puerto Rican and other Hispanic communities in the area.
2. To recruit qualified Spanish-speaking professionals and paraprofessionals to all departments within the Hahnemann system.
3. To provide consultation to agencies and community groups (as well as to Hahnemann staff) regarding the particular mental health and social needs of the Hispanic population.

During the Puerto Rican Mental Health Group's first few months of existence, a number of community groups were contacted about goals and availability, as well as the need for their suggestions for programing. While there was some initial hostility and skepticism, the group was gradually accepted and has come to be viewed as a unique resource in the city; any concerned agency or party can contact them about an Hispanic family or individual needing mental health intervention.

The recruitment of qualified Spanish-speaking mental health workers at all levels of training continues to be a central goal of the group. Experience has shown that with proper recruitment efforts it is possible to locate bilingual individuals with backgrounds in community organization and mental health. There is still a limited number of highly qualified Puerto Rican professionals, such as psychiatrists, psychologists, and master's level social workers.

Paraprofessionals (mental health workers and child care workers) with varied backgrounds in community work and social service have been recruited. Case conferences and discussions of Puerto Rican cultural issues are held regularly as part of the inservice training of these workers.

The paraprofessionals have been valuable front-line providers of direct services to a population which, as recently as 3 years ago, responded minimally to mental health clinics. For example, one of the mental health workers is running a group for Puerto Rican women. Group members come in weekly and work on arts and crafts projects, while they discuss family problems and child management issues. Another outreach worker has an ongoing group of Puerto Rican men at the Detention Center. The purpose of this group is to orient these pre-trial detainees around probation issues, to involve them in planning for their eventual release, and to maintain contact with them when they return to the community.

Consultation and Education Efforts Within the Hahnemann System. Members of the Puerto Rican Mental Health Group have been called upon to provide seminars and case conferences around the dynamics of the Puerto Rican family and culture. Their long-range goal is to provide a series of seminars to the Hahnemann staff in the area of transcultural psychiatry and psychology, a project which has already begun informally. They are accumulating and sharing literature in the area of cultural anthropology, with the hope of starting a journal club in this area.

When Puerto Rican families are presented at case conferences, group members outline the polarized socialization patterns of the sexes within the culture (with the male as the unquestioned authority in the family), and emphasize the disruption of these patterns when the family migrates to this or other urban areas where the woman has greater educational and job opportunities. They also stress the continued importance of the ex-

tended family and the potential for intergenerational conflict as Puerto Rican children acquire values, attitudes, and sex roles strikingly different from those of their parents, and parents react with anxiety to their loss of control over their children.

Future Directions of the Puerto Rican Mental Health Group. The group's activities have evolved from a focus on recruitment and community organization to an increased emphasis on consultation/education, clinical services, and research activities. Research is clearly needed, including an ongoing community needs assessment and evaluation of the group's various programs.

The growth in the number of bilingual workers has meant increased availability of Hahnemann's various services to Hispanic families throughout the city. However, pressure from the Federal Government to increase the number of "billable services" (i.e., face-to-face client contacts) has resulted in the Hahnemann administration's questioning the amount of time lost from direct service contacts for the group's ongoing consultation and education activities. One administrative response to the funding pressure was to include the group as a section under the center's Consultation and Education Service. While this administrative transfer has permitted the continued existence of the Puerto Rican Mental Health Group, the group has lost autonomy in the process. Therefore, when a Puerto Rican professional became the new Mental Health Center Director in 1976, the group requested direct responsibility to him; this proposal is under consideration. There also has been some discussion about submitting a grant proposal to obtain funding for the group as an autonomous unit, either within or beyond the Hahnemann system.

What the Hahnemann model highlights is that a CMHC located within a large Hispanic community should be involved in:

1. Coordination with other human service providers, such as the police and school personnel.
2. Community organization particularly to insure Hispanic participation on community advisory boards. (We have a long way to go before we can say that we have reached our goal of adequate Hispanic representation in community affairs.)
3. Self-education about Latino social and cultural realities, including the role of the extended family, religion, folk medicine, etc.
4. Training of members of the Hispanic community as mental health staff. (This has been a major focus of my activity within the past year.)
5. Recruitment and hiring, with criteria including an individual's sensitivity to Spanish-speaking communities and his or her understanding of the different perceptions of mental health problems held in the *barrio*.

In addition to its involvement in these five activities, the CMHC must be aware of the expectations of the Hispanic community concerning the therapeutic process. It has been suggested that Hispanic and other low-income clients often approach therapy with the expectation that the therapist be active and provide advice toward the resolution of interpersonal and/or social problems rather than the exploration of intrapsychic issues (Cobb 1972).

Hispanic clients also frequently present themselves to mental health clinics after extensive past or ongoing contacts with general practitioners who dispense psychotropic medication too freely. It is essential to educate these clients to the reality that medication in and of itself will not lead to problem resolution. This situation also requires that as mental health professionals we maintain ongoing contact with general practitioners, ministers, and faith healers in the community, both to teach them techniques of crisis intervention and to learn from them alternative philosophies of mental health care.

There is a growing literature around the particular applicability of a behavioral model for Spanish-speaking clients (Casas 1976; Davidson and Stuart 1975). Behavioral therapy involves a contractual agreement between the client and therapist concerning behavioral goals and methods of achieving them. The client is thus free to choose goals and techniques congruent with his or her own values and perception of the problem. Another attractive feature of many behavioral models is their incorporation of methods for evaluating treatment outcome.

Among the forms of behavioral therapy used successfully with low-income Mexican-American women is assertiveness training (Boulette 1972). Behaviorally oriented group therapy also has been offered to Hispanic populations at Hahnemann and in other settings. Phillipus (1971) implemented a group format that included both Anglo and

Mexican-American clients with varying degrees of English fluency. He observed higher dropout rates for Mexican-American clients when English was the primary language used in the group. The Spanish-language group was more successful in the creation of a support system for the clients involved. This behaviorally oriented group approach was found to be particularly successful with presenting problems of somaticization, marital conflict, and difficulties with childrearing. These findings are very much in line with our own experience with Puerto Rican client populations in Philadelphia and New Jersey.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It is clear that successful mental health services delivery models for Hispanic groups are possible when an understanding of cultural and social variables is made a central priority for the mental health center staff. Another essential ingredient for effective outreach to the Hispanic community is flexibility—a willingness to depart from traditional models of service delivery to enhance the comfort of Hispanic clients.

Other important aspects of improved service to the Spanish-speaking population are: (a) community consultation as a preventive measure; (b) an emphasis on walk-in services and crisis intervention; (c) the use of bilingual/bicultural staff; and (d) ongoing research, particularly in the forms of needs assessment and program evaluation.

Because of the glaring need for indigenous paraprofessionals, it is also essential to assure the competence of professional mobility of these workers by increasing the number of high-quality, degree-granting programs and career ladders for these workers. It is by no means a real service to either the client or the workers to place a paraprofessional in a job for which he or she has been ill-trained and which will become a dead-end situation.

In essence, the mental health center serving a low-income Hispanic population must be willing and able to offer nontraditional services and to deal with a wide range of human problems. Many of these problems are in areas beyond the traditional province of mental health, raising the question of the appropriate boundaries of community mental health services. While it is unrealistic to expect the mental health center to offer a full range of services in the area of job training, education, etc., it is certainly necessary for the mental health staff to be familiar with available resources, willing to help with appropriate referrals, and perhaps even committed to devoting some energy to fighting for needed improvements in the lives of its clients. For example, at the New York Medical College in East Harlem, an important area of partnership between the psychiatry department's mental health clinic and the surrounding community has been a drive to rehabilitate existing housing and build new housing for community residents.

Meaningful service and community response clearly can be achieved if programing includes flexibility and an awareness of the central cultural issues and acculturation experiences of Hispanic groups in this country. Sensitivity on the part of individual staff members is necessary but not sufficient; institutional policies must reflect a genuine commitment to the Hispanic community if the outreach is to succeed.

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Chapter 7

White Racism and Africanity in the Development of Afro-American Communities

Ferdinand Jones

ABSTRACT

White racism defined the social and psychological relationship between blacks and whites as necessarily distant. In spite of the variety of experiences individuals have had in the history of black/white relationships in this country, racism and distance have been the predominant themes. The foundations of racism in slavery are dramatically evident. Its continued importance in American life is observable today in many contexts. Reflecting historically on black slavery in America, this chapter describes how the psychological distance between blacks and whites influenced the constructive development of an Afro-American identity and culture. The distance unwittingly produced survival mechanisms and adaptive processes among slaves which drew upon the traditional West African culture. The slaveholders' society also contributed structures, customs, and values to which African forms were amalgamated. This interplay, always subtle, is explored both historically and as it continues in black life today.

Introduction

Psychologists should be more precise than we have been in referring to "blacks" or "Afro-Americans." The effort to refine the definition of these terms should be prerequisite to the construction and testing of hypotheses about the qualities of black people. It should also be prerequisite to the development and operation of service programs for black individuals and communities. Like others, I find myself inclined to assume a common understanding of what is meant by blackness in interests, style, customs, behavior, and traditions. Some of the problems with this assumption led me to examine the sense of black community in a predominantly white university (Jones 1975). In that study, I determined that an outward appearance of unity was very different from actual support and consensus among black individuals. I also found, however, that there was a great yearning for the kind of harmony individuals felt should exist in a black community.

The problem with being precise about what is meant by "black" or "Afro-American" is easy to identify. Black Americans are tremendously diverse. They are complexly varied in economic class, regional background, educational level, political orientation, and skin color. Yet there is something that we have in common, to which both our oppressors and we ourselves vaguely but constantly refer.

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It is exciting to witness and to participate in the emergence of a black psychology which is finally documenting who we are without the hindrances of unconscious and institutional racism. The historical perspective in this documentation has been especially illuminating in highlighting what it is that we share psychologically. This paper outlines some observations on the definition of "Afro-American," based on a psychohistorical view of black communities and their development.

Dual Influence

What is most certainly shared by virtually all black people in America is the ancestry of slaves and the consequences of persistently negative white American reactions to blacks. The collective experience of blacks during and since slavery is reflective of these two very powerful and enduring influences: White racism helped produce North America's unique form of slavery, while the traditional African cultural forms and philosophy helped shape black adaptation to environmental conditions resulting from slavery.

The beginning of what was to become the United States was characterized by vast inconsistencies in values and behavior among its population. These inconsistencies were reflected by its spokesmen, who took conflictual stances in many areas, including religion and its functions and the relationship with England. On the subject of race, the con-

flicts were particularly vivid. The idea that the Caucasian race and European civilization were superior was well entrenched in the culture of the colonists at the time that the "egalitarian" republic was founded. No matter that the development of social structures was complex and subtle; it is reasonable to conclude from voluminous historical documentation that, in the mind of the average colonist, the African was heathen, he was black, and he was different in crucial philosophical ways. As time progressed, he was also increasingly captive, adding to the conception of deviance. The African therefore could be justifiably (and even philanthropically) treated as property according to the reasoning of slavetraders and slaveholders. Both Jordan (1968) and Kovel (1970), whose books on white attitudes toward blacks are by now well known, extensively discuss the process by which the "thingification" of blacks took place. We are all painfully familiar with the behavioral results of this attitude in the treatment of slaves in America.

Although slaves were treated as objects, bountiful evidence suggests that they did not view themselves similarly. There are many published autobiographies of slaves; the Federal Writers Project left us a voluminous record of interviews with ex-slaves. Several scholars have analyzed these records from a variety of perspectives. The humanity of these first-hand informants about slavery is obvious and abundant (Blassingame 1972; Botkin 1945; Nichols 1963). Afro-American scholars are beginning to know enough about West African culture to appreciate the existential climate in which the early captives were raised and which therefore could not be totally destroyed by the enslavement experience. This was a climate that defined individuality in collective terms. Individuals were members of a tribe, within which they had prescribed roles determined by the history of their family within that tribe. Individuals were inherently a part of the natural elements on which they depended, and they were actively related to those tribal members who once lived and to those who were yet to be born. An individual African's conception of his or her humanity was thus deep and far reaching. For example, Nobles (1972) excellently analyzes the adaptation of the West African world view to the conditions of enslavement in America. He relates how West African concepts of existence included notions very different from the usually accepted Euro-American ideas about the nature of interpersonal relationships, death, the elements, and spirituality.

The West African sense of tribal identity also accounted for intertribal rivalries, wars, and the participation of some tribal chieftans in the Atlantic slave trade. The contrasting attitudinal stance of American slavetraders and slaveholders, heavily influenced by the European superiority concept, emphasized African sameness and devalued tribal distinctions for the most part. This became especially true in North (as opposed to South) America, because of the economy of the trade and the culture of the traders. Jones (1976), in a paper entitled "Structural Isolation and the Genesis of Black Nationalism in North America," states: "West Africans at home found their differences more interesting than their similarities and used them as the basis of many a fascinating quarrel; but transported—as slaves—to the early Americas, they began to perceive their commonality" (p. 15).

The colonial plantation system which was established and into which Africans were thrust did virtually eliminate tribal affiliations. Individuals were separated from kin; interrelationships among kin kept together were often transient because of sales. A new identification with those slaves working and living together in a given place could satisfy what was undoubtedly a natural tendency to be a member of a group. New family units became the most important attachments of individual slaves. Thus, as the system of slavery was gradually institutionalized, West African affiliation tendencies adapted to it.

It should be noted that the usual controversial subject of African survivals is not being argued here. It is assumed in this discussion that African captives who were brought to North America had learned as children a basic orientation toward the world, which remained with them. The very nature of the slave system into which they were injected and the racism which was so much a part of it actually enhanced many aspects of this African philosophical orientation. Nobles (1972; 1976) and Clark et al. (1975), in their fascinating papers about Afro-American self-concept are all impressed with this phenomenon. Nobles states: "Thus as slavery was moving closer and closer to its final definition, the slaves themselves were moving closer to African as black as the final definition of tribe" (p. 29).

If we are convinced of this logic, then the foundation of communality and affiliation among Afro-

Americans lies indeed in: (1) their treatment as chattel slaves and (2) the adaptation of West African culture, philosophy, and social heritage to the system and culture of the slaveholders. This exceedingly complex dual influence is still reflected in black community life. The double consciousness of black Americans is therefore the major characteristic of Afro-American mentality. DuBois articulated this divided consciousness as follows:

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be best (1969, p. 45).

Several black political movements have looked upon this duality as destructively conflictual and have variously urged its reconciliation. Thus the integrationists and the black nationalists, to be crudely general, have both been concerned with resolving the conflict, but in opposite directions.

The very difficulty of defining something like the black community or the Afro-American, however, is paradoxically the proof that the duality continues to exist. Individual black Americans often resist categorization, thereby expressing their identification with the American ideal of the rugged individual. Yet, there is an almost universal appreciation among black people of what can be termed a black style of behavior and expression. The influence of white racism, the many reactions to it in black people, and the influences of traditional African adaptive modes are still the threads that run through all of the psychological studies of black self-concept, accounting for the often contradictory-sounding findings (Banks and Grambs 1972). These psychological studies have also reflected the political changes affecting black people and their public response to efforts to solicit their self-identification; private self-concepts may be quite different.

Isolation and Its Effects

Black slaves were isolated psychologically from their masters, despite their physical proximity. Racism guaranteed this kind of distance because, even under the most generous slaveholders, slaves were made to "know their place." Every slave narrative illustrates this reality: the autobiographies of house servants, mistresses of philandering slaveholders, mulatto slave children, favorite slaves of female slaveholders, carriage drivers and craftsmen sought after for their skills, field hands, the slaves of cruel and sadistic masters, and the slaves held by small farmers or by New England families with small businesses. Slave children sometimes enjoyed a few early years during which they were not fully conscious of their status; but, even in the "best" of such cases, this situation did not last beyond very early adolescence.

One of the consequences of this rigid distinction between masters and slaves was to make the community of slaves extremely important to the daily survival of its individual members. Blassingame, whose impressive analysis of the slaves' plantation life is derived largely from slave autobiographies, states that "The social organization of the quarters was the slave's primary environment, which gave him his ethical rules and fostered cooperation, mutual assistance, and black solidarity" (1972, p. 41).

Whether in the slave quarters of large plantations or in the homes of isolated groups of slaves on smaller farms, slave family life was organized along dimensions which were natural and adaptive to the realities of the situation, i.e., reflecting both the cultural traces of Africa and the racial attitudes of slaveholders. Virtually all slave autobiographers talk about their love of their families. This is all the more impressive in the context of the slave system's destructiveness to the maintenance of family life. Blassingame notes the irony: "The Southern plantation was unique in the New World because it permitted the development of a monogamous slave family" (p. 77).

Among the evidence of slaveholders' conflicts was their commitment to certain standards of "civilization" at the same time that they practiced an inconsistent brand of humanity toward their slaves. The family was a sacred European institution. Slaveholders, however, began to sanction and encourage a form of family life among their slaves. The family was also central to traditional African societal organization. Its meaning for slaves, in spite of its disruption in slavery, was indelible. Relying on Blassingame (1972) again:

> While the form of family life in the quarters differed radically from that among free Negroes and whites, this does not mean that the institution was unable to perform many of the traditional functions of the family. The rearing of children was one of the most important of those functions. Since slave parents were primarily responsible for training their children, they could cushion the shock of bondage for them, help them to understand their situation,

> teach them values different from those their masters tried to instill in them, and give them a referent for self-esteem other than their master (p. 79).

In places like New England, where large plantations usually did not exist, the family was all the more essential for the slave; without it, individuals were totally isolated (Greene 1942; Johnston 1894).

Blacks in various conditions of subjugation gradually began to establish social systems. Many slaveholders fancied themselves as having brought civilization to an otherwise heathen and primitive people. Their evolving and mostly unwitting encouragement of the black social systems illustrated their racial conflict. They were convinced of the childish, impulsive, and helpless nature of blacks and therefore assumed the appropriateness of social distance and control (in spite of ubiquitous sexual intimacy, which is a subject of considerable psychological interest in itself). They approved of only that behavior which was conforming and recognized only those relationships whose existence was sanctioned by their own social codes. They were therefore ignorant of a great deal of what went on in the minds and in the lives of their slaves, whose behavior toward their masters was transposed into terms the slaveholders could understand. Ironically, then, the slaveholders' social attitudes provided for the development of a black social structure which was a great source of practical and psychological strength. It supplied support to individuals, contributed to the assistance of runaways, and fostered the preparation of revolts and sabotage.

The hierarchy of the slave social structure reflected both the master's societal view and an orientation grounded in the slave's African background. Those slaves who were closest to the master (his body servants, mistresses, and sometimes his illegitimate children and his drivers) enjoyed higher status in the quarters. Rebels, runaways, and conjurers also held positions of social prestige and power. In New England, where conditions fostered more personal contact between master and slave than on large southern plantations, black slaves sometimes believed they were better than their southern counterparts. This belief persisted even though in New England, too, there was always an understood limit to the degree of interracial relationship (Greene 1942). Black free men and women might accurately perceive their personal advantage over whites poorer than they; but the law and social customs supported whites' rights over those of free blacks in virtually all instances. This inequality of psychological power in favor of whites in interracial relationships of all kinds has been a very tenacious reality of American life.

In other parts of the Americas, an emerging mulatto class gained legal and social recognition between that of pure blacks and whites. R. Jones convincingly argues that the racial behavior stimulated by this development aided the general communication between blacks and whites in those places and, conversely, created a profound social and psychological distance between the races in North America (1976). The fantasies about the other race became, on both sides, gross exaggerations of the reality which the rigid segregation had helped to create. The stereotyped white view of blacks characterized them as primitive, and the stereotyped black view of whites overemphasized individual white power. An emulative social order among blacks, one outgrowth of this phenomenon, prompted Frazier's condemnation of the "black bourgeoisie" (1957). Conversely, evidence of the persistence of whites' stereotypes about blacks is as readily available as an evening's television viewing.

For blacks, however, the dominant effect of the racial isolation during slavery was the stimulation of a unique black culture. Blassingame, along with R. Jones, is extremely impressed with this phenomenon:

> The more his cultural forms differed from those of his master and the more they were immune from the control of whites, the more the slave gained in personal autonomy and positive self-concepts (Blassingame 1972, p. 4).

> In British North America the peculiar isolation of blacks caused them to take a unique emotional and intellectual perspective on their Africanity (Jones 1976, p. 10).

This effect accounts for the extraordinary creativity of the slave communities and subsequent black communities. Afro-American folk tales, music, dances, religion, and language all reveal the creative merger of the traditional African with the North American slave situation.

The psychological distance between blacks and whites also fostered a superconsciousness about race on both sides. This exaggerated emphasis on difference, together with the equation of that difference with a superiority-inferiority dimension, permitted the incorporation of mutual fantasies into American cultural institutions. On the black side, the foundation of nationalism was the most significant result (Jones 1976).

Self-Concept

Certainly the enslavement process interrupted what would have been the normal self-concept development of the early captives. While still on the African continent, they were probably able to maintain a degree of hope about their captive condition, because the ideal of slavery in that context was not unfamiliar. The experiences of the middle passage, however, were traumatic. Successive later encounters with hard labor, cruelty, isolation, and even insanity were eventually muted by the development of a black social order, with the family as its nucleus. The slave's self-concept and sense of worth were derived from his or her competence as a worker, as a family member, and as a slave coping with the necessity for survival in the harshest of circumstances. Negative attitudes on the part of whites were the other significant influence on black self-image, although probably not as central as the reactions of fellow slaves. The interplay of black and white influences on black self-evaluation is illustrated in the ironic fact that prestige among blacks could sometimes derive from relationships with whites, as mentioned earlier.

A core of consistently positive relationships was necessary for a slave's development of a sense of personal worth. Relationships with other blacks, and occasionally with whites other than masters, generally fostered self-esteem. The slave's role in his or her family within the community of blacks, even in the North, was cherished and was usually essential to any possibility of personal happiness.

This interpretation of the interplay of black and white influences on self-conceptions does not contradict that of Nobles (1972), whose discussion of the "extended self" elaborates the idea that slaves adapted and retained West African concepts of the self. The importance of the support, sharing, and identification with fellows in slavery is certainly not underestimated in this discussion. The attempt here is to understand also the dimension of psychological experience which stemmed from the reality imposed by slaveholder attitudes. American institutions which vitally affect black life have incorporated white racist attitudes throughout the history of America.

The emphasis in this paper is also not totally at odds with Banks and Grambs:

> In modern American society we acquire identity from other human beings ("significant others"), and incorporate it within ourselves. A person in our society validates his identity through the evaluation of significant others. However, the average black American has never been able to establish social or self identity in terms of social valuation to that of the white majority. The ideal self in America has been made synonymous with Caucasians, and particularly middle class whites (1972, pp. 6-7).

The fact that a black identity has not been equally valued by the larger society does not say enough, however, about the substantial, if conflictual, development of black self-esteem. Psychoanalytic theory, interpersonal theory, and most other major theoretical positions in the field of psychology agree about the importance of what can be called "ego strength." Self-esteem and competence are at the core of this conception. Competence in survival, in family roles, and in work is undeniably evident in the history of black folk. (Blassingame helps us to understand also that West Africans were an agrarian people whose hard work at home made them genetically suited to agricultural labor.) Blacks have loved themselves and one another, even while learning racist negative evaluations of blackness. This complex self-attitude is not unusual; all self-conceptions are psychologically complicated. The documentation of the existence of black ego strength is profuse. That strength is evident in the development of rituals, social orders, and creative processes during slavery which could not have emerged solely from an internalized white perception of blacks. The individual competence of slaves, their ability to perceive the moral inequity of their condition, their capacity to resist and to escape, and the collective creativity and support of slave communities all attest to the power of the African/black influence.

Adaptive Resources

Nichols, in his synthesis of slave autobiographers' accounts of slavery, is convinced that the violence of enslavement was psychologically devastating to black slaves. The conditions of the captive environments were inhumane: "Chained together in twos by the ankles and wrists and stuffed below the decks, the slaves fought to get near the grating for a breath of fresh air. They fought over food and trinkets" (Nichols 1963, p. 9).

There are reports of slaves wandering around in a daze, neglecting their children, seeming to hallucinate, and committing suicide. There are records of brutal beatings and murder of slaves by other

slaves. Slaves deceived their fellows at times, informing on would-be escapees and rebels. In modern times there is black-on-black crime and black psychopathology. In Africa, there are genocidal wars and bitter inter-African conflicts of many kinds. African people and their descendants in America are not immune to egocentrism, antisocial behavior, or mental illness. Their surviving the hostility and violence perpetrated by whites against blacks in America, however, serves to highlight both the adaptive capacities of human beings in general and the indestructible humanity of a particular people. The lessons of slave adaptation for contemporary black life are potent. They are lessons which have been obscured behind the outrageous pronouncements of an intellectual establishment blinded by its own prejudice (Clark 1975).

The adaptation of blacks to a continually hostile society should thus be viewed as successful. Both the noting of negative black behavior during slavery and the criticism of certain black behaviors today require consideration of the total societal context in which they occurred or occur. Reflection on the history of black folk in America aids the maintenance of this necessary longitudinal perspective and guides the understanding of the needs and potential resources of contemporary Afro-American communities. There were several factors and processes which contributed to the slaves' psychological survival:

Genetic Factors. Slavetraders selected those Africans who were most suited for hard agricultural labor. Preferred captives were from agrarian societies in West Africa. Those who could survive the process of enslavement with the horrors of the middle passage were the fittest.

Reality Testing. Slaves were injected into a prescribed system with rules, customs, and styles to learn. This reality provided parameters within which adjustment was made. The reactions of despair, unhappiness, fear, and anger reflected appropriate assessments of their situations. The acquisition of skills and the development of pride in work, of families, and of social systems among black groups were constructive forms of adaptation to the harsh reality. Sabotage, rebellion, and escape were also realistic responses to the conditions of slavery.

Ego Strength. Colonial culture and the West African cultural orientation fused in the construction of a social order bestowing prestige on those slaves favored by slaveholders (e.g., house servants and drivers) and on conjurers, rebels, preachers, runaways, musicians, and craftsmen. Religious rituals and customs emulating those of whites, while retaining an essentially African style, provided a sense of secure identification and an expressive outlet.

Self-esteem developed from a sense of participation with other blacks who were supportive and with whom individuals shared family and extended kinship relationships. Pride in skilled and unskilled work enhanced a sense of self-worth. Occasionally, identification with the wealth of masters and favorable self-comparison with poor whites also aided self-esteem. Other blacks, however, provided the major positive feedback, no matter what its nature. If this were not forthcoming, its absence could not be overcome.

A variety of personality roles developed for dealing with slaveholders and other whites. These roles were creative amalgamations of natural inclinations and behaviors dictated by the realities of the environment.

Community Support Systems. Slaveholders stimulated slave group development by their need for social and psychological distance. The family as a source of comfort and security was the basis for a more extended identification, permitting multiple positive responses to individuals within the group. It was also the context within which a definite individual role evolved. This role was essential to survival and contributed to whatever prestige the group attained.

The assimilation of Christianity into traditional African spiritual beliefs undergirded the evolution of a hopeful perspective for slave communities. It produced shared rituals which provided comfort and a means to express existential orientations. For example, a perspective on the meaning of life and an expectation of the nature of death served to mute daily pain and frustration.

Creative Energies. The social functions of music and dance from African life were transposed into American slave environments in religious and secular forms. Borrowings from European church and secular music were incorporated into what became Afro-American music. The attractive African rhythmic forms were so powerful as to influence the music of the larger American society.

Folk tales emerged, perpetuating the oral tradition of Africans, while also depicting the preoccupations of daily life. Black English evolved, with

structures and imagery reflective of African languages.

Environmental factors, such as housing, food, medical care, the degree and kind of discipline, the size of the setting, the nature of the required work, and the personality of the slaveholder, were variables contributing to the relative effectiveness of black survival and creative adaptation.

Contemporary Afro-American Communities

This psychohistorical perspective on blacks during slavery suggests at least one set of hypotheses concerning current Afro-American communities. According to a recent study by Barbarin and Crawford (1977), using age and race as variables in the assessment of the quality of community life, blacks tend to define their community in terms of people rather than to apply the more formal definition which whites tend to use. Blacks seem to look first to a network of human support for emotional survival and only secondarily to institutional structures. Yet, at the same time, they tend to evaluate themselves as a group by the standards of the dominant culture, as defined by these institutions. Barbarin and Crawford state:

> These data suggest that when blacks, and perhaps other groups as well, talk about communities, they use at least two separate dimensions. The first one relates to the community as people and the second relates to the physical environment and resources of their community. Thus, in making ratings of community problems and resources, and making ratings of satisfaction, it is possible that blacks may, in fact, be using two separate dimensions for each rating (p. 6).

Barbarin and Crawford's suggestion might also explain the paradoxical findings of a study of blacks in a predominantly white university which the author conducted in 1975. Black university students and staff interviewed after a campus demonstration expressed positive attitudes toward themselves as a group, while also evaluating themselves as a community in clearly negative terms (Jones 1975).

Only further systematic investigations of this subject will demonstrate whether or not the preceding reasoning is sound. Following the historical interpretations offered in this paper, however, it appears logical to conclude that the dual influence of white racism and Afro-American traditions continues to affect blacks' perceptions of themselves both individually and in communities. Black group support permits the community's survival and the enjoyment and celebration of black style. At times, the enjoyment of uniquely Afro-American cultural forms has been more covert than public, as when the aspiring black middle class has ambivalently struggled with its racial identity. But the awareness of an emotionally supportive network among black people has never disappeared. Its creation wherever any number of blacks have migrated has been impeded, but not stopped, by technological advances and urbanization. The evaluation of the community has continued to reflect the dominant culture's racist view of blacks. And since blacks have only been allowed limited access to success as defined by Euro-American standards, the appraisal that the black community is not capable of success became part of the black collective self-view as well.

When white researchers studied black self-esteem along both individual and community dimensions, they couched their inquiries in their traditional evaluative terms and arrived at the conclusion that blacks hated themselves. Kardiner and Ovesey's *The Mark of Oppression* (1951) is a classic example of this process. Many black social scientists in the past were uneasy with such conclusions because they knew that their own personal experiences could not be summarized so negatively. The challenge to the definition of black American identity in the political fervor of more recent times has also stimulated black thought on issues of self and community. Billingsley's work, for example, articulated the necessity for a liberated black scholarship and simultaneously demonstrated how a nonracist examination of black families revealed its strengths and resources (1968; 1970).

We are now witnessing the construction of a body of scholarly literature about blacks by blacks which is finally clarifying the complex picture of black culture. Central to this clarification must be an appreciation of the potency of the interplay between white racism and Africanisms and their continued power in shaping what is uniquely Afro-American.

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Section III

Organizational and Environmental Perspectives—Racism Across Settings: Overview

Institutional racism affects a diversity of individuals and organizations. However, the manifestation or form of institutional racism varies with organizational context. The purpose of this section is to provide examples of racism across a number of important settings, namely business, education, mental health, and the community as a whole. In the field of education, desegregation has been an important focal issue. Willie, in chapter 9, describes the planning process involved in the desegregation of a school system in Dallas, Tex. This is a useful case study which shows a good example of how the community can work in concert to handle this difficult problem. One byproduct of desegregation has been increased suspension from school of minority youth, especially black males. Pharr and Barbarin approach this problem of suspension with a person-environment fit model. They suggest that suspended students are those whose individual attributes and interactions with the organization fit less well with the institution than do those of nonsuspended students. They argue that racist processes contribute to the poorness-of-fit between the school and the suspended student.

Employment is a central factor in the lives of most adults and has received attention with respect to the effects of discrimination. Salipante critically examines efficiency rationales of large business and industrial organizations for maintaining discriminatory employment practices. Contradicting the argument that employment discrimination is justified because it increases organizational efficiency, he argues that the opposite is true: that discrimination, in fact, lowers efficiency. The field of mental health has not been immune to the influence of racism. Bowser discusses the history and present status of racism and mental health. Barbarin, Maish, and Shorter examine issues of self-esteem, perceptions of personal control, and active commitment to social change as dimensions of coping among nonwhites. Hurley, Barbarin, and Mitchell examine racism as it affects community functioning. In doing so, they explore discrepancies in resources available to predominantly black and predominantly white communities. They posit that differences in community culture and climate may be attributable to inequitable allocation of resources and that the fewer resources given to the black community present a serious impediment to community functioning. This is institutional racism at a macro level.

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Chapter 8

School Suspensions: A Problem of Person-Environment Fit

O. Martin Pharr and Oscar A. Barbarin

ABSTRACT

Person-environment fit refers to the congruence between characteristics of an individual and demands of the environment. This approach is used to conceptualize the discrepancies that may exist between the values, behavioral preferences, and problem-solving strategies of minority-group students on one hand and the demands, values, and expectations of the school environment on the other. It was expected that black, male, junior high school students with a history of school suspensions would see themselves and their behavior in a manner differing from school expectations, resulting in a person-environment mismatch. Perceptual and behavioral patterns of high- and low-adjustment students were compared. Results suggest that: (1) the behavioral priorities and coping styles of suspended students are incompatible with school expectations; (2) suspended students tend to be less satisfied generally with the school's interpersonal environment than nonsuspended students; (3) suspended students tend to rely more on avoidance or aggressive strategies to solve interpersonal problems, tend to rely less on school personnel for solving conflicts, and have greater difficulty with the school's mechanism for controlling students than do students who have never been suspended. Based on these findings, a model of school adjustment was proposed which delineates student-school interaction as the central dimension.

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Widespread disparities exist between whites and minorities with respect to quality of education. An outcome of this disparity is low achievement and higher than expected occurrences of adjustment problems for minority students. The Kerner Report (U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968) described the American education system as permeated with racist policies and practices, evidenced by de facto segregation. Compounding the problem of segregation were the inequities in the educational experiences of minorities resulting from inadequate facilities, inexperienced teachers, and limited support from local, State, and Federal governments (Jones 1973).

Over the past 10 years, busing of children to distant segregated communities has been the principal strategy to achieve racially balanced school enrollments. Frequently, the use of busing for the purpose of desegregation has brought with it two unintended consequences, namely the closing of schools in minority communities and a massive busing of minority youth to predominantly white schools. Although busing efforts fulfill the minimal requirements of desegregation, they have resulted in few beneficial changes in the organizational or interpersonal climates of the schools themselves.

Even small steps toward the dissolution of segregated school systems were greeted with resistance in many communities. For example, the use of court-ordered busing encountered violent demonstrations and disruptions in many school systems across the country. Blacks have protested the closing of their community's schools and the busing of their youth to schools in distant communities. In some cases, whites have protested not only the busing of their own children to other communities, but also the busing of minorities into their community schools. In spite of these difficulties, court-ordered busing has achieved a minimal level of success in eliminating segregation of the races. School segregation is but a single overt manifestation of racism in the American system of education. Ignorance of the importance of cultural diversity has resulted in a failure to adapt the school environment and to increase its responsiveness to minority students. Other subtle, and apparently unanticipated, problems became evident as students were transferred from familiar school environments to unfamiliar and, on occasion, hostile schools. Confrontations between black and white students, low academic achievement, high rates of absenteeism, tardiness, and suspension became

common in recently integrated schools. The deterioration of order and discipline in the schools had reached such proportions that Congress directed the National Institute of Education to conduct a nationwide study and to make policy recommendations regarding ways to remedy the violence and lack of discipline in our public schools.

A frequent response on the part of school personnel to disciplinary problems has been the implementation of strict codes of conduct which specify undesirable behavior and apply predetermined and occasionally inflexible consequences for failure to conform with the school's expectations. Suspension is one of the most severe, but common, forms of disciplinary action. Further, the escalating problems faced by schools have led to the increased use of suspension as a form of discipline. For example, in one suburban county in metropolitan Washington, D.C., the number of suspensions has increased steadily from 8,600 in 1972 to over 14,100 in 1975 (NAACP 1975-1976). This sharp increase in the number of suspensions occurred soon after the initiation of a desegregation plan in which blacks were transported to schools in predominantly white communities. Anecdotal reports from other areas of the country suggest that this trend is not unique to the Washington metropolitan area. Blacks, especially males, are reported in many areas to be suspended at a disproportionately higher rate than whites. It is likely that there exists a complex set of factors which seriously affects the adjustment of blacks to many school settings. Specifically, the sociopsychological stresses attendant to adaptation in a predominantly white and occasionally hostile school environment pose an especially difficult challenge for black youth (Poussaint and Atkinson 1972; Jones 1973). It is likely that these stresses are heightened when students return to their classrooms following a suspension and find themselves further behind academically. Moreover, the increasing number of suspensions among blacks suggests that disciplinary action does little to facilitate school adjustment. Alternative approaches are clearly needed.

If efforts to facilitate school adjustment are to be successful, they must be founded on an understanding of students' behavioral styles, the demands of the school environment, and the manner in which the two interact. Analyses of antisocial behavior in the schools suggest that such behavior may be related to structural or policy characteristics of the school environment, that is, its rules, rewards, and sociocultural expectations (Bachman 1971; Jones 1973). This is not meant to suggest that responsibility for poor school adjustment rests entirely in the hands of the school. To the contrary, the individual's own attitudes, preferences, and skills determine to a large degree how well a student will adjust to a given school setting. However, the school environment provides a structure, climate, and a set of interpersonal processes and values to which the student must acclimate and adapt. To the extent that recently integrated schools fail to respond to the psychosocial needs of nonwhite students, the adjustment process will remain difficult and costly to the students and schools alike. Lack of responsiveness or awareness on the part of a school to the cultural diversity of its students constitutes, in our opinion, an operational definition of institutional racism in the schools. To address this problem, an examination of the school adjustment process will be helpful.

Recent literature suggests that person-environment (P-E) fit may be useful in describing the process of adjustment (e.g., Pervin 1968; Feather 1972; French, Rogers and Cobb 1974). Person-environment (P-E) fit rests on the assumption that the goodness of fit between the person and the environment is a good predictor of performance and satisfaction in that setting. The concept of P-E fit underscores the matching of personal and environmental variables, not simply their interaction. Building on this notion, adjustment may be conceived in terms of the "goodness of fit" between the characteristics of the person and the properties of the environment and applied to the process of adjustment in the schools. Specifically, we wish to examine the congruity of characteristics of the student and of the school which play a crucial role in adjustment. As dimensions of fit are reviewed, the ways in which schools may pose difficult coping problems for nonwhites will become clearer.

Previous research suggests several dimensions of student-school interaction which may be relevant to the process of school adjustment. For example, Feather (1972) studied the relationship of the student-school value congruence to student adjustment in school and satisfaction with school. Over 2,900 students from the two senior years in varied secondary school environments ranked sets of values from the Rokeach Value Survey, first in order of importance for themselves, then in the order they thought these schools would emphasize

them. They then completed two measures of adjustment: (1) a modified version of the Cornell Job Description Index, and (2) school satisfaction rating. The findings revealed positive correlations between the student-school match with respect to values and the measures of school adjustment. However, the correlations were quite low. Feather noted that, in spite of the positive correlations, a significant proportion is attributable to variables other than value congruence. Presumably, value congruence is only one of the many variables that account for satisfaction in school settings. Bachman (1971) conducted a series of studies which helped isolate additional dimensions of P-E interactions that may account for performance and satisfaction in school. These studies were designed as a nationwide longitudinal study of growth and change in adolescent boys. The major areas of growth and change are determined by: (1) personal characteristics (including attitudes); (2) environmental characteristics; and (3) interactions between the person and environment. Data were collected by means of questionnaires and interviews from a cross-section of boys starting 10th grade in public schools throughout the United States, over a 3-year period, along with information from principals and teachers in about 900 schools.

Bachman found that many adjustment problems in the schools involve a mismatch between individuals and the typical high school environment. Among the important elements in the person-environment mismatch are limitations in academic ability, past scholastic failure, and patterns of "rebellious behaviors" in the school environment. It is suggested that student-school mismatch could be best resolved by changing the school environment as well as the individual student. Further, the authors suggest that early intervention (e.g., elementary school) may be necessary to overcome many of the problems of student-school mismatch, which are deeply ingrained by the time an individual reaches high school.

In an attempt to define the process of adaptation in male high school students, Kelly (1971) chose to assess exploratory behavior and behavior preferences in various high school environments. Preferences for exploration were defined as involving three components: a diversity component, representing the degree of novelty or diversity that the person seeks; an innovation component, involving innovation and change producing behavior; and a cognitive component, involving perceptions of self as a competent change agent in the environment. Exploratory behavior is viewed as the joint outcome of a person's preferences for exploration and the degree to which the environment facilitates or restricts these preferences. Kelly and his associates conducted a longitudinal study of male students attending two white and two black high schools, which investigated the relationship between students' preference for exploratory behavior and their adjustment to school.

The environmental demands or stresses have also been studied with respect to their effects on adjustment. Murray (1938) proposed that individual behavior is mediated by perceived expectations or pressures within the social environment. To identify sources of environmental pressure in academic settings, Herr (1965) administered the High School Characteristics Index (HSCI) to 725 high school students. The HSCI is a 300-item measure describing daily activities, policies, procedures and attitudes about a high school setting. The 30 independent press scales are related to intellectual climate, dependency pressures, or emotional expression. Primary sources of environmental stress differ by such variables as sex, grade level, grade point average, and level of participation in extracurricular activity. For all students, the school staff and peer groups constituted important sources of stress. However, the demands of staff and of peers on individual students were perceived as conflicting. Herr (1965) speculates that the fit between students' personal needs and the possibly conflicting environmental pressures may be a better predictor of achievement, emotional maturation, and positive change than any characteristic of the student or the school environment alone.

Trickett and Moos (1973) raised similar issues but approached the issue of environmental press, not at the organizational level (i.e., the entire school) but at the level of the individual classroom. The classroom environment was conceptualized as a dynamic social system of teacher-student and student-student interactions and defined by the shared perceptions of classroom participants. Trickett and Moos (1973) developed an assessment procedure to "capture" the psychosocial environment of the junior high and high school classroom by asking teachers and students to report their perceptions of several aspects of the class. For this purpose they developed the Classroom Environment Scale (CES), a 90-item scale which assesses nine dimensions of the classroom: student involve-

ment; student affiliation; teacher support; academic task orientation; academic competition; order and organization; rule clarity; teacher control; and innovation. These variables were analyzed into three factors: (a) interpersonal relationship variables; (b) system-maintenance and system-change variables; and (c) goal-orientation variables. The resulting data provide favorable patterns of item intercorrelations among these dimensions, as well as supporting evidence of the ability of the subscale to differentiate classroom environments. For example, distributive education classes reported more positive affiliative relationships, more student involvement in the class, a more personal and supportive relationship with the classroom teacher, and less structural rigidity within the classroom than did the mathematics classes.

Trickett and Moos outlined several potential uses for the CES in assessing and predicting the effect of person-environment relationship on behavior. For example, the assessment of classroom environments with the CES permits evaluation of the effects on students of different classroom and teaching styles. Also, the dimensions of the CES appear useful in testing interactional or transactional hypotheses about behavior. In support of interactional approaches, Trickett and Moos (1970) found, for example, that a significant amount of variance in students' feelings and initiatives in the classroom (e.g., satisfaction, active participation) was accounted for by a match of certain student characteristics with dimensions of the classroom environment. Taken as a whole, the work of Trickett and Moos (1970) suggests that the person-environment factors are measurable and are relevant with respect to an interactionist understanding of individual behavior in a school setting.

As suggested earlier, racial-cultural diversity in the schools must also be addressed with regard to school adjustment. McGee (1971) argues persuasively that cultural diversity is a relevant issue in an analysis of the relationship of adaptation and P-E fit. Specifically, he points out the need to modify environments to increase the fit for minorities.

> To posit that adaptation to an oppressive cultural milieu is desirable behavior, to which one should enthusiastically adhere, is to implicitly demand of the individual that he keep in wraps the unique aspects of his environment that produce the individual as he perceives himself in relationship to the systems and the people with which he must deal . . . .Unless social scientists begin to design and execute ecosystems that functionally involve heretofore ignored groups, then the concept of adaptation as a model for interaction and/or preventative intervention will be useless (p. 147).

The relevance of this statement is especially clear in light of our current situation of court-ordered busing for the purpose of school desegregation. In many instances, minority-group students are being placed in schools whose educational, social, and extracurricular programs were initially established to accommodate and reflect values, experiences, aspirations, and interests of whites. Definitions of adjustment by nonwhites to these school environments must, from a P-E fit perspective, take into account minority-group status.

There exists empirical evidence that minority students experience the school environment differently from whites and that they manifest different patterns of adjusting to school environment. Sedlacek et al. (1971) and DiCesare et al. (1972), for example, suggest that black college students who are more suspicious of the racial motives of whites in a university setting tend to evidence higher levels of achievement and tend to be more realistic, independent, and adaptable to the school environment.

Thus far, it is clear that the notion of "fit" between the individual and his environment may contribute to our understanding of behavior and may be used in the future as a basis for developing interventions in the schools. Research links person-environment discrepancies to such outcomes as anxiety, resentment, irritability, satisfaction, nonconforming or rebellious behaviors, and withdrawals from the environment (Bachman 1971; Feather 1972; Pervin 1968). These outcomes most frequently result from discrepancies between the needs or coping preferences of students and the requirements of the environment. Since the P-E fit paradigm has been helpful in clarifying the sociocultural pressures which result in poor school adjustment, this strategy may provide useful information about individual and environmental contributions to the adjustment difficulties of black students in a recently desegregated school system.

The literature surveyed above suggests several assumptions on which inquiries into the school-adjustment process may be founded. First, the public school traditionally operates in a manner that supposes its students have internalized its own values and expectations. Specifically, these include values which support the formal educational means and objectives of the school and expecta-

tions of behavioral conformity. Thus, if students' educational values and behavioral preferences do not conform to those endorsed by the school, serious problems in adjustment may arise (Bachman 1971). Next, an assessment of differential sources of environmental press seems essential to an investigation of adjustment because some aspects of the school setting affect students differently. Effective functioning in the school may be hampered to the extent that attributes of the environment pose serious problems for students, particularly if student concerns are not recognized or perceived as legitimate by school personnel. Trickett and Moos (1973) suggested that support from teachers, authority figures, and peers is a dimension of the social environment relevant to behavior. In addition, issues designated by students as significant problems in the school are likely sources of stress. Moreover, McGee (1971) argued that perceptions of racism may be a critical environmental press for minorities. If perceptions of the social environment are related to adjustment, it is likely that the perception of racism (e.g., unfair treatment, grades, discipline) by black students will be related to the level of functioning in the school.

Finally, it has been suggested that problem-solving responses to interpersonal conflicts are a useful way to gauge discrepancies between the student and the school environment (Kelly 1971). It is conceivable that the student may actively choose to solve stressful interpersonal situations in a manner which violates school policies and values. Since many conflicting sources influence selection of a problem-solving strategy, a student's behavior may not always be consistent with the faculty expectations or school policy. When this occurs, punitive measures may be invoked by the administration—a phenomenon symptomatic of poor adjustment (Bachman 1971).

By school standards, suspensions are a sign of serious maladjustment. Disproportionately large numbers of nonwhites, especially males, have been the recipients of disciplinary action leading to suspension (Moody, Vergom, and Davis, 1977). The suspension rates of blacks have climbed precipitously since the advent of court-ordered desegregation of public schools, leading many black leaders to charge administrators of recently integrated schools with racial discrimination. Data concerning the increase of minority suspensions in recently integrated schools may be accounted for by a person-environment fit model which suggests that the school environment, its expectations, and presses may not be congruent with the needs, values, and aspirations of some students. Consequently, the social environment of the school may present particularly difficult challenges to the students' capacity to cope.

This study is intended to examine differences between high- and low-adjustment (suspended) students. Specifically, the study examines the relative fit with the environment of a group of suspended and nonsuspended black males. Using suspension as an index of adjustment, it is expected that educational values, behavioral preferences, and problem-solving styles of nonsuspended students will be more concordant with the values and behavioral priorities fostered by traditional public school settings than are those of suspended students. It is also expected that the nonsuspended students will have more favorable perceptions of, and be more satisfied with, the school environment than the low-adjustment students. Moreover, nonsuspended students will likely differ from suspended students in terms of the specific presses experienced in the school environment, and these differences will be reflected in their ratings of school personnel.

Method

Participants. Participants in this study were 80 black, male, junior high school students from a recently desegregated suburban school district. Of the 80 participating students, 41 had been suspended at least once during the 1976-1977 academic year, with the remaining 39 having no suspension history. On this basis, students were assigned to one of two levels of school adjustment (high and low).

Measure. To assess student attributes and their perceptions of the reactions to the school environment, the School Environment Questionnaire (SEQ) was developed (Pharr and Barbarin 1976). The SEQ consists of 70 five-point Likert items designed to tap dimensions related to self-perceptions, environmental perceptions, and behavioral styles, indicated as important by the literature surveyed above: self (educational values, activity preferences), environmental (perceptions of racism and school problems, affective reactions to the school's staff), and behavioral style (problem-solving strategies). (See table 1.)

Table 1. Subscales—School Environment Questionnaire (SEQ)

Self-perception (9 items)	Environment perceptions (40 items)	Behavior (21 items)
1. Educational values (4 items)	3. School strengths a) Courses (3 items) b) Social activities (3 items)	9. Problem solving a) Active informal strategies (3 items) b) Active formal strategies (7 items) c) Passive strategies (4 items) d) Aggressive strategies (5 items) e) Avoidance strategies (2 items)
2. Behavioral preferences (5 items)	4. Satisfaction (5 items)	
	5. Staff-Student relations (4 items)	
	6. Ratings of personal qualities a) Administrators (4 items) b) Staff (4 items)	
	7. Perceptions of racism (7 items)	
	8. School problems/presses a) Interpersonal activities (3 items) b) Control (3 items) c) Relation to authority (4 items)	

Reliability. Reliability of scales was assessed by one of two methods, inter-rater reliability or KR-14 estimates of internal consistency. The KR-14 was used for educational values, racism, staff-student relations, and affective ratings of staff. Each of the other dimensions was first sorted by two trained raters into subcategories. For example, items under school strengths were categorized into interpersonal and courses. Subsequently, three different and naïve raters took these same items and attempted to sort them into the prescribed categories on the basis of category descriptions. Any items which did not have 100 percent agreement were eliminated from the scale. Approximately 33 items were deleted by this process.

The outcome of this refinement procedure is a 70-item measure which clusters into 9 scales. Seven additional items assess demographic information.

1. *Educational values.* Measures attitudes concerning the importance and value of formal education. Participants rate the extent of agreement with statements related to the usefulness of formal education, and items are scored so that the high scores indicate favorable attitudes toward educational achievement. Favorable attitudes are integrated as compatible with the school environment. The reliability of this scale is very good (KR14 = .80).
2. *Behavioral preference.* Measures the relative priority assigned to five behaviors (e.g., making money, studying, partying). Higher scores indicate a relative preference for behaviors oriented toward or facilitative of academic achievement.
3. *School strengths.* Measures students' perceptions of academic courses and opportunities for social activities as relatively favorable aspects of the school environment, i.e., the things they like about their school.
4. *Satisfaction.* Items assess the degree to which students are satisfied with the school environment. The pattern of intercorrelations among these items suggests strongly that they measure the same construct. However, they are treated as individual items, since the internal consistency of the cluster is poor.
5. *Teacher-student relations.* Assesses students' perceptions of interaction between students and staff (i.e., principals and teachers). These items relate to staff's use of praise and inclination to work cooperatively with students (KR14 = .54).
6. *Affective ratings of staff.* Measures students' affective reactions toward administrators and teachers, using semantic differential

dimensions such as good-bad, kind-cruel, and helpful-not helpful. The KR14 reliability coefficients for these scales were .50 for ratings of teachers and .53 for ratings of principals.

7. *Racism scale.* Assesses the school's interracial climate with such items as: "For the most part black students in my school receive a fair shake" (KR14 = .64).
8. *School problems.* Assesses aspects of the school environment which students generally consider problems. Respondents rate the extent to which each item is a source of difficulty. Items on this scale formed three clusters: relationship with authority, personal control, and absence of opportunities for interpersonal contact.
9. *Problem-solving style.* Students were presented with a series of five interpersonal problems that they might confront in school. The problem related to student-teacher conflict, student-student conflict, aggression among peers, and initiation of school activities. For each problem, students were given four to five problem-solving alternatives and were asked to indicate the likelihood that they would adopt a particular course of action. These responses were previously sorted into one of five categories by trained raters, (1) active informal strategy in which the student exercises initiative and relies on personal resources or those of friends to solve the problem; (2) active-formal strategy in which the student takes a primary role in moving toward the solution of the problem but utilizes the resources, procedures, or personnel of the high school system; (3) passive strategy in which the student adopts an acquiescent stance and indicates a high probability that nothing would be done; (4) aggressive strategy in which the student employs physical force to handle the problem; and (5) avoidance strategy in which the student takes an action that is not designed to solve the problem directly but to avoid it.

Procedure. Junior high school volunteers were solicited through neighborhood recreation and church groups; suspended student volunteers were located with the assistance of the NAACP school suspension project from these same neighborhoods. Most students completed the entire SEQ in groups of 5 to 10 persons. In a few cases the SEQ was administered individually in the home of the respondent. With respect to problem solving, the students were asked to indicate what they *would* do to solve the problem.

Analyses. Since the purpose of the experiment was to determine the degree of fit between student and school, responses of students were compared to generally accepted norms and expectations which characterize the school. A one-way ANOVA was performed on each of the subscales of the SEQ with Level of Adjustment as the independent variable. With respect to these variables, a good fit is reflected in a balanced perception of the school (e.g., acknowledging both strengths and weaknesses) in moderate levels of satisfaction, favorable ratings of staff, and in an active problem-solving style which incorporates both formal and informal resources.

Results

Although suspended and nonsuspended students did not differ significantly with respect to educational values (12.3 vs. 12.1), the nonsuspended group showed a significantly higher preference for activities compatible with education ($\bar{X} = 15.1$) than the suspended group ($\bar{X} = 13.3$), $F\ (1, 78) = 13.3$, $p \leq .001$. No significant differences were found between the two groups with respect to their perceptions of school strengths (social strengths and courses), but the suspended group experienced problems with the school environment to a significantly greater degree than nonsuspended students (see table 2). With respect to issues of control, suspended students had significantly more difficulty with the amount of personal control they exercised over what happened to them in the school environment (suspended, $\bar{X} = 3.7$; nonsuspended, $\bar{X} = 2.9$). In addition, the suspended group indicated a significantly higher degree of difficulty with the limited opportunities provided by the school for interpersonal activities (3.3) than the nonsuspended group (3.0). Conversely, the nonsuspended group rated the quality of student-staff relationships much more favorably (18.5) than did the low-adjustment or suspended group (16.2), $F\ (1, 78) = 8.8$, $p \leq .001$. A similar pattern was found with respect to affective ratings of school personnel. Although the nonsuspended group rated both teachers and administrators significantly higher than the suspended

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and F-values for subscales of school environment questionnaire by suspension groups

Variable	Suspended	Nonsuspended	F-value
Educational values			
M	12.3	12.1	.54
s.d.	(1.3)	(2.0)	
Behavioral preferences			
M	13.3	15.1	13.3***
s.d.	(2.2)	(2.07)	
School strengths			
Social			
M	3.3	3.4	19
s.d.	(.6)	(.8)	
School problems			
Relation to authority			
M	3.0	3.0	0
s.d.	(.4)	(.7)	
Control			
M	3.7	2.9	12.6***
s.d.	(.8)	(.9)	
Interpersonal			
M	3.3	3.0	7.4**
s.d.	(.3)	(.8)	
Staff student relations			
M	16.2	18.5	8.8***
s.d.	(3.1)	(3.8)	
Affective ratings of personnel			
Teachers			
M	9.6	10.3	5.2*
s.d.	(1.2)	(1.5)	
Administrators			
M	6.3	10.4	60.1***
s.d.	(2.1)	(2.6)	
Racism			
M	21.8	15.7	36.8***
s.d.	(3.3)	(5.3)	
Problem solving			
Active formal strategies			
M	2.6	2.7	1.0
s.d.	(.3)	(.8)	
Active informal strategies			
M	2.8	3.0	3.6
s.d.	(.4)	(.4)	
Passive strategies			
M	2.6	2.2	5.5*
s.d.	(.7)	(.7)	
Aggressive strategies			
M	3 5	2.6	23.7***
s.d.	(.4)	(1.0)	
Avoidance strategies			
M	2.8	1.7	40.6***
s.d.	(.7)	(.7)	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

group, the difference between these two groups was much greater for school administrators (10.4 vs. 6.3) than for teachers (10.3 vs. 9.6). The suspended group perceived significantly more racism in the schools ($\bar{X} = 21.8$) than did the nonsuspended group ($\bar{X} = 15.7$).

With respect to problem solving, there were no significant differences between the two groups in the use of active strategies which involved formal resources, F (1, 78) = 1.0, p = n.s. However, nonsuspended tended to use active informal strategies which required a marshalling of personal or informal support networks for solving problems to a greater extent than the suspended group (nonsuspended, $\bar{X} = 3.0$; suspended, $\bar{X} = 2.8$). This difference approached but did not attain an acceptable level of significance, F (1, 78) = 3.6, p = .058. However, there were significant differences with respect to the use of passive, aggressive, and avoidance strategies by the two groups, with the suspended group tending to rely more frequently on each of these than the nonsuspended group. Moreover, the suspended group tended to employ aggressive strategies more frequently than any other problem-solving approaches. Compared to nonsuspended students, suspended students tended to use avoidance strategies more frequently (2.8 vs. 1.7). Furthermore, the suspended students used passive strategies to a greater extent than the nonsuspended students (2.6 vs. 2.2). In addition, the suspended students tended to be less satisfied with school than the nonsuspended group (see table 3). In general, these students reported a lower level of satisfaction with respect to the school reputation (1.4 vs. 2.3), their own personal enjoyment of school (2.5 vs. 2.9), the general interest in school affairs (.7 vs. 1.5), and with the personnel (2.3 vs. 2.8).

Discussion

This study was designed to examine the degree to which school suspension is related to individual fit with the school environment. "Fit" refers to the degree of congruence between characteristics of the person and the demands of the environment. In this study, fit is specifically described in terms of adherence to values and behavioral priorities consistent with the implicit goals and purposes of the school environment. Relatively active problem solving which draws upon available formal and informal resources is also interpreted as an index of a good fit with the environment. In addition, accom-

Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and F-values on sources of satisfaction in school setting

Sources of school satisfaction	Suspended (n = 41)	Nonsuspended (n = 39)	F-value
School reputation			
M	1.44	2.39	3.23***
s.d.	(1.0)	(15.0)	
Personal enjoyment			
M	2.52	2.93	1.68*
s.d.	(0.7)	(1.3)	
General interest			
M	.74	1.52	3.33***
s.d.	(0.7)	(1.2)	
Teachers			
M	2.37	2.83	2.04*
s.d.	(0.9)	(1.0)	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

panying good person-environment fit are satisfaction and relatively favorable perceptions of the environment. However, because individual circumstances and environmental conditions vary, no absolute judgments can or should be made about the desirability of fit with the environment. Caution must also be taken not to attribute to individuals alone responsibility for poor fit. The person-environment fit model is based on an interactionist approach which presumes that behavior is reciprocally determined by individual and environmental variables.

An empirical approach was taken in this paper to test the P-E theory in the case of school suspensions. Although the two groups did not differ with respect to values, the behavioral preferences of the nonsuspended group were more consistent with an achievement orientation than those of the suspended group. The activity preferences of the suspended group were those which were previously judged to be incompatible with formal education. The opposite is true for the nonsuspended group. These findings suggest that the suspended student brings to school behavioral preferences that are inconsistent with school expectations. In turn, these a priori incongruencies lead to a poor fit along other dimensions. Conversely, the response of nonsuspended students which reflects behavior more compatible with educational objectives suggests a better fit with the school. As a result, nonsuspended students experience less stress in the school environment than the suspended students, whose interests fall outside the domain of behavior acceptable within the school. The process by which these preferences develop is unclear and deserves further attention.

Although the two groups agreed with respect to the strengths of the school, they differed greatly with respect to problems experienced there. The suspended students were acutely aware of their lack of personal control in the school setting, in that they had little to say about the rules and structure that governed their lives. They also perceived students and staff as having more problems in communicating with and relating to each other. Moreover, suspended students felt that the school did not facilitate interaction with other students by providing meaningful social activities. Thus, for suspended students, the school is perceived as governed by excessively restrictive rules which make it difficult for individual students to be themselves. In addition, suspended students are troubled by the absence of student input into the development of these rules. de Charms (1968) conceptualized this problem in terms of treating students as "pawns" rather than "origins." He predicts that highly desirable educational outcomes are more likely to be achieved when the students are encouraged to act on their own initiative than when they are placed in an environment that is created for them and controlled by others. Suspended students are clearly unhappy about the minimal influence that they exercise on the school. Thus, suspended students must not only deal with an environment that explicitly proscribes many activities they view as desirable but must also subscribe to rules and a decisionmaking process from which they are virtually excluded. Thus, with respect to control issues, the nonsuspended students represent a better match. In viewing the school environment, suspended students seem to have more difficulty with the restrictive range of behavior that is acceptable in that environment. Also, they prefer interpersonal or social activities to academic work. Because schools are especially invested in developing intellectual skills, the needs of the students and the demands of the environment may not match. It is likely that this mismatch results in negative affective evaluations of the school experience on the part of suspended students.

These negative evaluations are reflected in several ways. First, suspended students rate staff

and administrators much lower than do the nonsuspended group. In addition, they tend to derive significantly less satisfaction from their experiences in the school setting than do the nonsuspended group. In part, these relatively negative evaluations may result from unpleasant confrontations between staff and students who break the school's rules or violate its implicit norms. These deviations from the norm require disciplinary action, which makes it difficult for these students and the teachers to establish a positive basis for their relationship. These negative relationships may be perceived as expressions of racism. The suspended group tended to perceive the school environment as more racist than did the nonsuspended group. In research at the university level, DiCesare, Selacek, and Brooks (1972) suggest that awareness of racism on the part of black college students tends to be associated with effective functioning in that setting. Although awareness of racism may facilitate adaptation in late adolescence, it appears to have no such effect during junior high school. An explanation of the differential relationship between sensitivity to racism and adjustment is not immediately evident. Perhaps, at the junior high school level, the absence of significant adjustment difficulties may minimize the usefulness of racial attributions to account for unpleasant experiences in the school. Alternatively, the absence of adjustment difficulties may make the students less vulnerable to racist treatment by the school.

With respect to problem solving, both the suspended and nonsuspended groups tend to use active formal solutions at similar rates. However, the nonsuspended group tends to rely more heavily on the active informal resources than the suspended group, and the converse was true in the case of passive strategies. Also, the suspended students showed a preference for aggressive and avoidance tactics in dealing with problems. It is interesting to note that the problem-solving style of the nonsuspended group tends to be more consistent with the stated expectations of the school in that these students take a relatively active role and call upon formal and personal resources in solving problems. The suspended student's endorsement of passive or aggressive strategies for solving problems reflects a lack of problem-solving skills, ignorance or distrust of formal channels, communication skill deficits, or unpleasant experiences with use of formal channels to solve problems. Reluctance to call upon the staff for solving interpersonal problems is understandable in light of the poor ratings made by suspended students with respect to the quality of their relationship with staff and administrators. The relative passiveness with respect to problem solving may be related to a sense of powerlessness experienced by the suspended students. It is likely that unfavorable reactions toward several aspects of the school environment makes difficult the development of an active behavioral style. Thus, the suspended students may be affected by feelings of apathy, rebelliousness, and a sense of helplessness in the school. The unwillingness on the part of the suspended students to use formal resources in problem solving may also reflect a lack of trust in the formal procedures and in those responsible for implementing these procedures (namely, principals, teachers, and counselors). Suspended students may not be convinced that the school personnel will act in the students' behalf but will follow standard procedures designed for the benefit of the staff as a mechanism for controlling students who do not conform. Feelings of powerlessness and the inability to control their own lives in the school are at the core of the dissatisfaction expressed by suspended students. Thus, the concomitants of suspension, especially low satisfaction, combine to produce a decline in achievement and may motivate students to drop out of school (Bachman 1971).

Group Differences. In general the nonsuspended students were found to have a better fit with the school environment in that their behavior, problem-solving strategies, and perceptions of the school environment were more congruent with the demands of the educational process. Figures 1 and 2 were developed to describe the adaptation process of both the suspended and nonsuspended groups. It becomes apparent that poor student-school fit exacts a high personal cost from suspended students. Pejorative attitudes toward the school signal dissatisfaction by the suspended students and are associated with aggressive acting out behavior or the adoption of a passive stance. Consequently, efforts to increase P-E fit are essential to improve adjustment for these students.

It must be understood that, in this study, school adjustment is described in terms of congruence with school expectations. This approach should not be misinterpreted as placing the blame entirely on students for any mismatch that occurs. For that reason, we must emphasize the fact that neither school nor individual characteristics are negative,

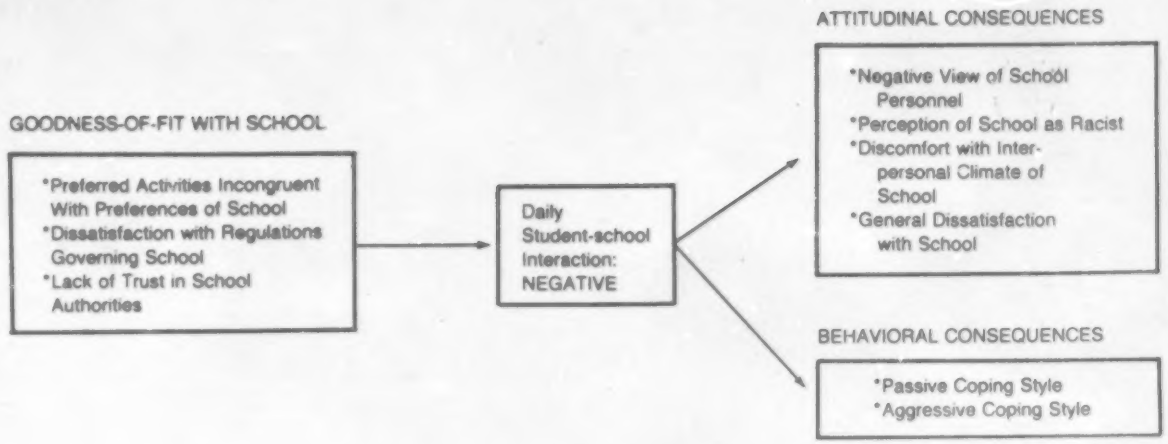
ATTITUDINAL CONSEQUENCES
*Negative View of School Personnel
*Perception of School as Racist
*Discomfort with Interpersonal Climate of School
*General Dissatisfaction with School
GOODNESS-OF-FIT WITH SCHOOL
*Preferred Activities Incongruent With Preferences of School
*Dissatisfaction with Regulations Governing School
*Lack of Trust in School Authorities
Daily Student-school Interaction: NEGATIVE
BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES
*Passive Coping Style
*Aggressive Coping Style

Figure 1. Person-Environment Fit Model School Adjustment Process—Suspended Group.

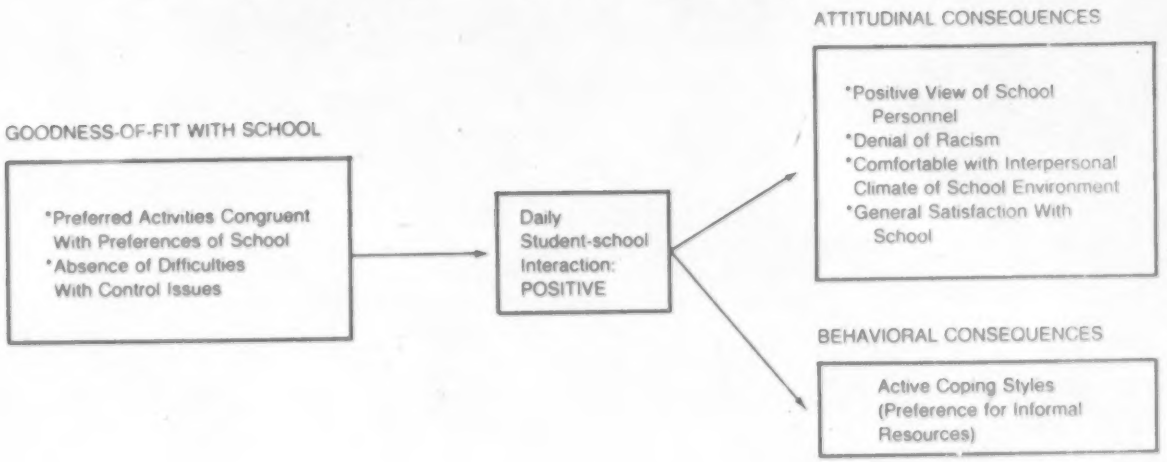
ATTITUDINAL CONSEQUENCES
*Positive View of School Personnel
*Denial of Racism
*Comfortable with Interpersonal Climate of School Environment
*General Satisfaction With School
GOODNESS-OF-FIT WITH SCHOOL
*Preferred Activities Congruent With Preferences of School
*Absence of Difficulties With Control Issues
Daily Student-school Interaction: POSITIVE
BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES
Active Coping Styles (Preference for Informal Resources)

Figure 2. Person-Environment Fit Model School Adjustment Process—NonSuspended Group.

wrong, or undesirable *in se*; but, the students who are likely to be suspended also tend to exhibit personal attributes and problem-solving styles not acceptable in the school environment. Most public school settings have been designed to accommodate the needs of an admittedly overworked school staff and relatively compliant students, particularly those that come from middle-class backgrounds. These settings may not always be suited to the needs and preferences of poor and nonwhite students. Minority children are suspended at twice the rate of whites. This inequity reflects a pervasive intolerance on the part of the school for children who are different (Children's Defense Fund 1975). Discriminatory attitudes and practices, once required by law in the case of racially segregated school systems, may now manifest themselves in discriminatory disciplinary procedures. The result of this process is that these students experience a pattern of interaction with the schools that fails to facilitate education, creates negative expectancies about the student's behavior and talents, and negatively affects the student's self-image.

This unfortunate situation has not been ignored altogether. Several school districts nationwide have provided alternatives to suspension which range from temporary inschool programs to extramural programs which provide services in a separate setting for problem students (Children's Defense Fund 1975). Although in most cases the intentions are good, a conspicuous feature of most of these programs is that they serve as a supplement

to traditional classroom approaches, which remain unchanged. These alternatives are designed to produce changes in students; they are called into use only after adjustment difficulties have been experienced. Few inclass alternatives have been developed to date.

What, then, do the results of this study show us about the development of alternative programs? This study pinpoints several dimensions of the school environment which pose difficulties to students of diverse cultural backgrounds. Suspended students can be characterized as high on affiliation and control and low on achievement, relative to the nonsuspended group, which suggests that the distinction made in organizational research on the effects of horizontal versus hierarchical structures might account for the results we obtained with the suspended group and provide a blueprint for changing classroom environments.

In smaller organizations, horizontal structures rather than hierarchical produce greater organizational satisfaction and improved performance (Porter and Lawler 1965; Likert 1961). Presumably, in horizontal-type organizations the decisionmaking process is less centralized and rigid and allows more autonomy and conveys a sense of trust in its members (Murrell 1973). Moreover, through such a horizontal structure conditions are created within the organization wherein it can accommodate diversity of membership, whether that diversity is attributable to race or to behavior styles. The classroom environment might profit from this research by refashioning classrooms along horizontal rather than hierarchical lines. Thus, classrooms may be reconstituted to minimize poor fit of suspended students by allowing students more input to regulating the school and establishing classroom practices. This shift requires more than a suggestion-box approach. Moreover, schools must develop effective means of communicating with students and a process for accepting students' input in a meaningful way. It is likely that the distrust and negative evaluations of administrators might be dissipated through such a process. Increasing the opportunities for student-administrator communication can also build more trusting relationships and develop the interpersonal skills of students.

To the extent that the school setting, especially the classroom, remains inflexible and insensitive to the diverse needs of its student populations, unnecessarily high numbers of students will be handicapped in the adjustment process. The data supporting the P-E fit situation conceptualization of adjustment imply that schools must diversify and adapt, if they are to increase their effectiveness.

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Appendix A. School Environment Questionnaire

This questionnaire is being used to find out how youth feel about their schools; what they like and don't like. This information will be useful in trying to improve school environments. Your answers are confidential. Responses will be mixed in with answers from other youths. Do not put your name on any of the sheets.

Since we are trying to understand better the strengths and problems in schools as you see them, we ask that you answer in a way that reflects your real feelings, without exaggerating the good or the bad. If you do not understand a question, feel free to ask for further information.

1. How many brothers or sisters live with you? ____
2. Which parents live with you?
   (1) Both Mother and Father
   (2) Father only
   (3) Mother only
   (4) Not living with parents
3. What is the total annual family income? $_____
4. How many times have you been suspended from school this past year? _____
5. Approximately how many days of school did you miss as a result of suspension? _____
6. How frequently have you been sent down to the principal's office this past year because you got into trouble? _____
7. What was your average grade last year? A B C D E (Circle One)

Educational Values

Directions

Below is a list of statements. Read them carefully and decide to what extent you agree or disagree with that statement as it applies to you. For example, if you completely agree with the statement mark *A* (strongly agree) on the answer sheet; if you do not agree but don't strongly disagree, mark *D* (slightly disagree); if you neither agree nor disagree, mark C (neither) on the answer sheet.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. The best education comes from your own experiences and not things you learn in school.	A	B	C	D	E
9. Instead of being in school, I would rather be out working and making money.	A	B	C	D	E
10. The best thing about school is that it gives you a chance to make friends.	A	B	C	D	E
11. This school has too many rules.	A	B	C	D	E

Behavioral Preferences

Directions

Below is a list of activities. Rate how important they are by ranking them in the order of importance to you. 1 = 1st choice; 2 = 2nd choice; 3 = 3rd choice; 4 = 4th choice; 5 = 5th choice. You may use a number more than once.

12. Making friends ____
13. Studying to get the best possible education ____
14. Making money ____
15. Partying (having a good time) ____
16. Smoking ____

Sources of Satisfaction

Directions

Below is a list of statements. Read them carefully and decide to what extent you agree or disagree with that statement as it

applies to you. Mark the appropriate letter on your answer sheet.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17. Compared to other schools, my school is one of the best.	A	B	C	D	E
18. I enjoy being in school.	A	B	C	D	E
19. Most of the time school is boring.	A	B	C	D	E
20. My teachers are very helpful to me.	A	B	C	D	E
21. In general, I am unhappy with my school.	A	B	C	D	E

School Strengths

Directions

Of the items below, check to what extent you agree that the following are strengths or things that you like about your school:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
22. The variety of social activities	A	B	C	D	E
23. Chance to meet with friends	A	B	C	D	E
24. Lunch periods	A	B	C	D	E
25. Math courses	A	B	C	D	E
26. English courses	A	B	C	D	E
27. Physical Education courses	A	B	C	D	E

School Problems

Directions

Check to what extent you agree that each of the following presents serious problems for you or things you do not like about your school:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
28. Difficulty in making friends(I)	A	B	C	D	E
29. Teachers' criticism of students (R)	A	B	C	D	E
30. Teachers' unwillingness to listen to students (C)	A	B	C	D	E
31. Teachers' not liking or respecting me (R)	A	B	C	D	E
32. Students' not having a voice in how the school is run (C)	A	B	C	D	E
33. Rules which are unfair to students (C)	A	B	C	D	E
34. Too much emphasis on school work and not enough time to have fun (I)	A	B	C	D	E
35. Lack of social activities (I)	A	B	C	D	E
36. Too many rules (C)	A	B	C	D	E
37. Students' and teachers' failure to talk to each other (R)	A	B	C	D	E

If 1 = never; 2 = seldom; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always, indicate:

38. How often do your teachers compliment you on your school work? _____
39. How often do the students in your school get a chance to work with teachers in planning what their school work will be—like what topics will be studied, or how they will be studied? _____
40. How often are your teachers willing to listen to problems and help find solutions? _____
41. How often are your principals willing to listen to problems and help find solutions? _____

Directions

Select one number in each row which best describes the teachers at your school.

42. Good	5	4	3	2	1	Bad
43. Kind	5	4	3	2	1	Cruel
44. Helpful	5	4	3	2	1	Not helpful
45. Understanding	5	4	3	2	1	Not understanding

Directions

Select one number in each row which best describes the principal in your school.

46. Good	5	4	3	2	1	Bad
47. Kind	5	4	3	2	1	Cruel
48. Helpful	5	4	3	2	1	Not helpful
49. Understanding	5	4	3	2	1	Not understanding

Directions

For each of the following statements, select one number which best describes your feelings:

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
50. For the most part, black students in my school receive a fair shake.	1	2	3	4	5
51. White teachers are really concerned that black students get a good education.	1	2	3	4	5
52. In general, black students have just as much say or influence on how my school is run as white students.	1	2	3	4	5
53. In general, black students have just as much say or influence on student social activities and clubs as white students.	1	2	3	4	5
54. Most teachers in my school are prejudiced.	5	4	3	2	1
55. Most white teachers dislike black students simply because they are black.	5	4	3	2	1
56. I would like my school better if all of the faculty and students were black.	5	4	3	2	1

Problem Solving

Directions

You will be given a number of situations that may occur in the school environment. In the spaces provided, write what you would most likely do if you were actually in that situation.

You were having frequent conflicts with one of your teachers, and you feel he/she is treating you unfairly. What would you do about it? _____

_____

Select one number in each row which best reflects how likely you are to do each of the following alternatives.

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
57. Cut class frequently	5	4	3	2	1
58. Give the teacher a hard time in class	5	4	3	2	1
59. Go to parent(s) for help	5	4	3	2	1
60. Let it go (do nothing)	5	4	3	2	1

Suppose you wanted to organize a new student club within your school. How would you begin to put your ideas in motion?

_____

_____

Select one number in each row which best reflects how likely you are to do each of the following alternatives.

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
61. Talk it over with teacher(s)	5	4	3	2	1
62. Talk it over with principal(s)	5	4	3	2	1
63. Talk it over with counselor(s)	5	4	3	2	1
64. Talk only with students	5	4	3	2	1

Suppose, as you leave the school building at the end of a school day, you notice two students physically attacking another student. What would you do? _____

_____

_____

Select one number in each row below which best reflects how likely you are to do each of the following:

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
65. Join in the fight	5	4	3	2	1
66. Attempt to stop the fight	5	4	3	2	1
67. Report the incident to a teacher or principal	5	4	3	2	1
68. Ignore the incident	5	4	3	2	1

If you were walking down the hall during a change of classes and another student shoves you without apologizing as he goes by, knocking your books to the floor, what would you do?

_____

_____

Select one number in each row which best reflects how likely you are to do each of the following:

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
69. Return the shove	5	4	3	2	1
70. Report the person to a teacher or principal	5	4	3	2	1
71. Verbally abuse the person	5	4	3	2	1
72. Ignore the incident	5	4	3	2	1

Suppose a teacher returns your exam and has marked it "F" because he/she claims you were seen cheating. You try to explain to the teacher that you don't cheat, but it doesn't work—the grade remains—but you did not cheat. What would you do?

_____

_____

Select one number in each row below which best reflects how likely you are to do each of the following:

	Very Likely	Likely	Maybe	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
73. Physically confront the teacher to drive your point	5	4	3	2	1
74. Talk it over with the counselor or principal	5	4	3	2	1
75. Cut the class to avoid future hassles	5	4	3	2	1
76. Complain to the superintendent's office	5	4	3	2	1
77. Ignore the incident	5	4	3	2	1

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Chapter 9
In Dallas School Desegregation Is a Business Affair

Charles V. Willie

ABSTRACT

Government directives which seek to eliminate racial segregation in the public schools have met with varying levels of success. In some school districts across the Nation, viable desegregation plans are being constructed and implemented which can provide valuable insights toward effectively transforming the institution of public education from a dual to a unitary system. The Dallas, Tex., school district stands out in this regard. Much of the success of school desegregation in Dallas is attributable to the active participation of private as well as public institutions in the community. As the evolutionary path of this district's desegregation plan is traced, it becomes clear that school desegregation problems can be solved only as trust exists between minorities and any sector of the community that is capable of generating collective community support for the redress of minority grievances. The dialog and joint planning between racial minorities and white business leaders in Dallas have allowed for unprecedented accomplishments in the struggle for institutional reform. The role played by business in the Dallas desegregation effort is suggestive of the progressive impact that powerful sectors of other communities can have on the problems of school desegregation.

Dallas is a business-controlled community. The political structure, the educational system, voluntary health and welfare associations, and even the churches and synagogues all are controlled by business. Some have called Dallas a business oligarchy. Because business power is so pervasive in the community, its leaders of necessity become involved in nonbusiness issues, such as school desegregation. Through years of dependency on business, these other systems have failed to develop the skill and capacity to rally together segments of the community outside their control. Thus, an educational issue, such as school desegregation, that involves public opinion and political, economic, racial, and educational components for successful implementation, could not be handled by the school system alone. The only system in Dallas capable of marshaling joint effort in the community is the business sector.

Despite its pervasive control, there are sectors of the community beyond the immediate influence of the business oligarchy. These are the racial and ethnic communities whose residents have been treated largely as invisible people in the past and excluded from participation in public affairs. Because they were discriminated against during the age of segregation, the racial and ethnic minorities in Dallas constituted less than the majority and consequently had little to lose by not going along with business leadership's proposals.

When they finally decided to cease cooperating in their own oppression, the racial and ethnic minorities of Dallas filed a class-action suit in the Federal Court in 1970. The suit charged that they had been denied equal protection of the law in the education that the Dallas Independent School District had provided for them. The prominent racial and ethnic minorities in Dallas are blacks and Mexican-Americans, who together are slightly more than a majority of the school-age children. Thus, any remedy or plan to grant relief from past experiences of segregated education would require a massive change in the educational system for the whole community, including whites, because of the size of the aggrieved population.

Few individuals from the racial and ethnic populations had participated actively in community decisionmaking in the past. Most were working class and lower class and therefore were beyond the pressures that the business community usually exerts to obtain compliance with its proposals. Thus, the past practice of a few top business leaders arriving at a decision that they believed to be appropriate and then assigning some of their colleagues the responsibility for carrying it out did not work for the school desegregation issue. The business leaders did not know the real desires and complaints of the plaintiffs and the populations they represented, and the racial minorities—especially the poor—had nothing to lose by insisting

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that they should be given better education. Their inadequate education frequently had been used against them as the basis for denying equal access to opportunities in the past.

Moreover, the school desegregation issue clearly was a national issue that transcended the limits of any local community. Dallas business leaders said they had to become involved after they read about the horror stories pertaining to school desegregation in Boston and Louisville. Dallas business leaders did not want their community to experience the same disruptions. They also said they did not want the situation to deteriorate, for then whites would leave the city as they did in Atlanta and in Washington, D.C. Finally, they were anxious about maintaining a good business climate in the region. The business leaders considered community turbulence associated with school desegregation to be incompatible with a good business climate, the promotion of which was of highest priority.

Although Dallas is in the Southwest, the city could be called conservative. Interracial relations during the first half of the 20th century typically were the same as those found elsewhere in the South. Dallas business leaders therefore felt that they could not promote desegregation but could participate in the issue for the purpose of promoting quality education for all and obedience to the law. Educational excellence and law and order were stances consistent with the conservative and elitist orientation of Dallas business leaders.

Before such a strategy could be developed, however, other changes were necessary. The Dallas Citizens Council, consisting of the heads of the 200 most significant businesses in the area, was a major influence in the decisionmaking. It had not taken proper cognizance of the school desegregation issue, largely because its members were not in contact with, and had no mechanism for promoting communication with, racial minorities. There is evidence that this group had lost some of its contacts with other sectors of the community as well. For example, a professional mass media specialist was elected mayor. He was not the candidate endorsed by the Citizens Council, as most mayors had been in the past. Although the insurgent political movement was short-lived, the more or less independent mayor shocked the business establishments, which largely had had their way in politics with predictable outcomes.

The event of the election of a nonestablishment mayor and the insistence by black and Mexican-Americans through the court on a fair share of educational services upset the equilibrium. Community tranquility of the past that had been associated with a booming business climate was threatened. This tranquility had been maintained at great expense to the aspirations and interests of racial and ethnic minorities in Dallas. When they began to make noises, the top business leaders in Dallas did not know what to do, but they were concerned.

Younger business leaders who wanted a part in decisionmaking and some of the older business leaders who had maintained lines of communication with other sectors of the community through, for example, the United Way and some agencies and associations with a base in the minority community, such as the Urban League and the Black Chamber of Commerce, realized that solutions to the impending school desegregation issue depended as much on the responses of the minorities as on the initiative of the majority. Some of the younger business leaders were connected with national firms with outlets in other communities that had experienced court-ordered school desegregation. These firms alerted their Dallas people of the need to deal affirmatively with desegregation. The Urban League served as a communication link, too. At one of its meetings, an attorney advised the board that the school desegregation issue was too complicated to be handled by politicians and lawyers only, that chaos would occur if the community were not involved. This prediction was sufficient to spur some well-respected business leaders into action.

The Dallas Citizens Council and the Greater Dallas Planning Council—top business and political groups—were informed of the need to develop a unified urban-planning strategy that could tackle governmental, educational, housing, and other community problems, in addition to those more specifically concerned with business. The top business leadership in the community acknowledged that a structure different from that which currently existed was needed to implement such a strategy. The Chamber of Commerce had already been experimenting with obtaining a broader base of community input in the work of its Urban Affairs Department, with Chicano administrative staff leadership, and was asked to refine the proposal for a new comprehensive planning

structure in the community. The structure that came into being was the Dallas Alliance. The 40-member Dallas Alliance Board was black, brown, and white; members were affiliated with a range of community organizations, including the Dallas Community Council and the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce. It was one of the first decisionmaking forums in the community that consisted of a variety of community leaders. The alliance was financed largely by the Chamber of Commerce.

The alliance initially decided to work on housing, but the Federal judge in charge of the Dallas school desegregation publicly challenged business leaders to become involved in the search for a solution. An attorney for the plaintiffs indicated that community members, in addition to lawyers and politicians, ought to be involved. Some business leaders were fearful that a botched solution might lead to community strife and contribute to a poor business climate. All of these pressures resulted in the alliance accepting the responsibility for developing a plan to desegregate the public schools of the Dallas Independent School System as a major task. The plan, eventually accepted and ordered by the U.S. District Court, was one that was proposed by the Education Task Force of the Dallas Alliance.

A unique aspect of the Task Force is that it consisted of blacks, browns, and whites, and had business and other community interests represented. However, the Task Force could not have been effective if minorities had distrusted the other members who participated in it. Recognizing the limited trust which minorities had in the public education bureaucracy of the community and realizing that some interests in the community were against racial integration on ideological grounds, the business leaders did two things: They stacked the white positions on the Task Force with businessmen, and they deliberately claimed a minority of the Task Force positions for whites so that persuasion would be the chief option available to them on formal votes. Not only was business involved so deeply in a controversial community issue, an unprecedented experience, but the decision to give up voting control was extraordinary. These moves represented definite changes in the way business had operated in the past and reflected the changing pattern of business leadership and business participation in the community. In assuming their new posture, the Dallas business leaders made a conscious attempt to make whites who opposed desegregation as invisible in the community planning process as black and brown protagonists had been in the past. This was an interesting turnabout. Although business leaders were a minority of the members of the Educational Task Force of the Dallas Alliance, they financed the operation and still were in charge of defining the context within which negotiations would take place and in determining who would be involved as participants in the negotiating process.

The business leaders excluded those opposed to school desegregation, not because they were unsympathetic to the segregationists, but because of the essential pragmatism of the business leaders. They followed a law-and-order approach. The law required a plan to desegregate and transform a dual educational structure into a unitary system. Opposition to this legal requirement was sure to create as much and probably more confusion and turbulence in the community than an orderly plan for school desegregation, and business leaders had become involved to forestall disruption and to ensure a predictable peaceful outcome—an orderly community is essential in maintaining a good business climate. Because the business community was committed to law and order, even a law that some did not like, and because all lawful efforts to resist the legal requirement of a unitary public school system seemed futile in view of the rulings of the Federal District Court and the U.S. Court of Appeals in favor of the plaintiffs, the business leadership identified the opposition to the court findings as a disruptive influence in the community and deliberately contained or bypassed it.

In the end, overcoming disruption and maintaining order, essential in promoting a good business climate in the community, were the primary goals of business leaders. They were achieved in the past by suppressing the concerns of the black and brown minorities who were integrationists. Now that these could not be contained, the business strategy for maintaining public order was to suppress the concerns of the white segregationists. In the deliberations on a school desegregation plan, the segregationists were consigned to the status of invisible people, as racial minorities had been in the past. Some business leaders probably were motivated to search for a workable plan to desegregate the public schools because of their religious values. Many were involved, however, not so much out of a moral conviction but because of a desire

to stabilize the community so that businesses could continue to prosper.

Invariably the question is raised whether the business sector could be this effective in achieving peaceful school desegregation in other communities. The answer turns, in part, not on what business leaders are willing to do but whom racial minorities are willing to trust. In Dallas, the leadership of the black and brown populations began to trust business leaders, because they increasingly acted in a trustworthy way. The linkage between business and racial minority leaders to develop an honorable school desegregation plan was a direct consequence of the distrust that existed between other community leaders and racial minorities. Any sector of the community—business, religious, educational, or political—could do for the school desegregation process what the business sector did in Dallas: (1) if it has the skill and know-how to coordinate a joint community effort and (2) if the aggrieved oppressed people trusted its leadership sufficiently to cooperate in the search for a solution mutually beneficial for all. The initiatives of business or any other sector would fail if those for whom remedial action was intended did not trust the initiators.

Trust and distrust seldom materialize at once; they usually are the outcome of incremental efforts. By its actions, the business leadership in Dallas earned the trust of racial minorities, as the educational and other leadership had earned their distrust. Nearly a decade before the business-sponsored Dallas Alliance began working on a school desegregation plan, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce approached the Dallas Independent School District with proposals for improvement of local vocational education and actively worked for the passage of a school bond issue to provide funds for the establishment of a Science/Technical Center. The effort was not entirely altruistic. The School District provided the necessary funding so that the Chamber of Commerce could hire staff to assist a Career Education Advisory Board consisting of business and industrial leaders. This Board came into existence in 1971. The black and brown populations noted that some staff would come from the minority community. Among other things, this Board and its staff developed paid internships, summer jobs, and job placements for students. There was immediate payoff for students who participated in educational programs for which a business-sponsored group was providing oversight. This kind of payoff engendered some trust among minority people in areas where the unemployment rate for teenagers and young adults is exceedingly high.

In a recent study of a sample of adult heads of households in Dallas, 77 percent said they favored increased approval rating of any of the programs in the Dallas Independent School District. For this and other reasons, the minority community leaders were sufficiently trusting of the business sector to work with its leaders toward a joint solution of school desegregation. If business leaders had ignored the legitimate concerns of the racial minority populations, they would have been distrusted as much as leaders of other sectors of the community are distrusted, and cooperative action would have been difficult to achieve. Thus, the conclusion is not that school desegregation can be solved only with business participation but that it can be solved only when trust exists between minorities and any sector of the community capable of generating collective community support for the redress of minority grievances. In Dallas, it was the business sector that was trustworthy and capable of this. In another community, it could be the political sector or even the religious sector.

Other institutions in Dallas were inert or outright adversaries of the racial minorities. The Dallas Independent School District was a defendant in the school desegregation court case. This alone signaled a breakdown in trust between the black and brown populations and the education system. If the religious system was involved, it was indirect and passive, influencing some of the values of some of the business leaders who participated in negotiations with the minorities. Formally, however, and this was the activity that minorities could see, the churches were busying themselves with efforts to establish private schools. They could be called private alternatives to desegregated public education, although most church-sponsored schools proclaimed to be open institutions, and a few enrolled some black and brown students as token evidence. Minorities did not trust religious institutions that engaged in this practice.

Politics in Dallas were known to be greatly influenced by the business community. Minorities wisely chose to negotiate directly with business leaders who would work with them. Fortunately for the city, individuals in both groups determined that it was in their self-interest to work cooperatively to solve the school desegregation crisis. The fulfill-

ment of self-interest is the most appropriate basis for social action and mutual trust. In Dallas, the successful interaction between minority and business leaders attests to the validity of this principle.

The Dallas Plan developed by the alliance, and adopted and ordered by the Court, divided the Dallas Independent School District into six geographic subdistricts. One subdistrict was said to be already integrated and exempted from the remedy. Another subdistrict, Southeast Oak Cliff, was left predominantly black. More than half of the black children in the Dallas Independent School District (where 44 percent are black, 44 percent white, and 12 percent Chicano) reside in the predominantly black district. Children, from kindergarten through the third grade, attend neighborhood schools. Middle schools were established for grades seven and eight. The ninth grade was incorporated into high school and extends to grade 12. The use of transportation to achieve a desegregated education was most frequent for students in grades four through eight. These students were assigned to schools within their subdistricts to achieve a racial balance. As students were reassigned within a subdistrict, cross-town busing became unnecessary. A few schools with special and extraordinary educational opportunities at the high school level were called "magnet" schools. Such schools, created for grades four through six, were called "vanguard" schools, and, for grades seven and eight, "academies."

The Dallas Plan required desegregation of top administrative positions in the Dallas Independent School District over a period of 3 years so that the proportions of blacks, whites, and Mexican-Americans would be similar to the proportions of students of these groups enrolled in the entire system. Staff and teachers also were to be recruited and appointed according to an affirmative action plan, so that in due time their numbers would correspond to the proportions of students in the major racial and ethnic groups enrolled in the system. Finally, the plan was to be audited by an internal and external group semi-annually, with the external auditor being appointed by the Federal judge. The business community contributed significantly to the enrichment of the magnet schools. Moreover, the business leaders turned their attention to ways of harmonizing differences and disagreements over portions of the Dallas Plan, with the expressed goal of attempting to prevent an appeal. A black law firm was retained for legal consultation.

The nearly all-black East Oak Cliff subdistrict was probably one of the most controversial aspects of the Dallas Plan because of the large number of blacks in it that continue to receive a segregated education in racially isolated schools. So that the educational experiences in the Oak Cliff schools may be tailored to the unique cultural needs of the students, an assistant superintendent was appointed to oversee this subdistrict. This administrative officer is a black woman and is the only assistant superintendent based in a subdistrict. In general, the administrative structure of the Dallas Independent School District is centralized. The Oak Cliff subdistrict is the only one which is administered with decentralized authority.

What appeared to be an asset in which minorities could handle their own affairs is rapidly becoming a liability in that the energy of minority leaders that should be focused on the total educational system is focused on the subdistrict that all believe to be "their" district. Not only is the remainder of the Dallas Independent School District not receiving the beneficial input and surveillance of blacks because of their extraordinary concern with the Oak Cliff subdistrict, but the definition of what is an appropriate education for blacks is shaping up as a battleground. This has the possibility of further dividing members of the black minority along social class lines, with a tug of war between affluent and middle-class blacks on the one hand and working-class and poor blacks on the other over the style and brand of education they consider to be appropriate. Such a definition would not be cause for bitter debate if blacks had not been led to look upon the schools in the Oak Cliff subdistrict as "theirs." This circumstance has shifted the issue from what is an appropriate education to what is an appropriate black education. And on this issue each black is an authority. Thus, the administrator of this subdistrict is likely to be caught in a sharp internal racial cross-fire from which no one can emerge victorious. Meanwhile, the school system at large proceeds with implementation of the Dallas Plan without adequate surveillance by blacks who, with Mexican-Americans, constitute a majority of all students in the Dallas schools.

The controversial aspect of the nearly all-black subdistrict therefore inheres not only in the racial isolation that it perpetuates but also in the internal racial warfare that it is likely to generate. Such internal bickering did not surface so clearly in the past, when segregation could be attributed to

racial discrimination and external sources could be pointed to as the reason for the separation from the community at large. A sense of "we are in this together against a common enemy" prevailed then. Now that the separation from the mainstream is accepted voluntarily by blacks who participated in designing the Dallas Plan, the separation takes on new meaning, and the issue of whom the district belongs to and for what purpose it is isolated emerges. There is no common enemy to point to now.

Meanwhile, those who grudgingly accepted integration can use the nearly all-black subdistrict as a scapegoat by oversimplifying the internal struggle among blacks and defining it as an example to show that blacks are incapable of self-government and controlling their own affairs. The nearly all-black subdistrict in the Dallas Plan is indeed controversial, and the ultimate outcome is unknown.

The response of the racial minorities to any school desegregation plan is an important component in whether or not the plan will succeed. The Dallas business structure clearly has recognized this fact. Some long-time observers of the Dallas community power structure have credited the 5-year fight over school desegregation with revitalizing the business leadership in the community and ushering in a new set of leaders who take counsel with minorities as well as among themselves.

The joint planning between racial minorities and white business leaders is new and exciting. One year after court-ordered school desegregation based on the Dallas Plan, the white business leaders in the community call it a success, despite the fact that at least half of the black students in the Dallas Independent School District are continuing to be educated in racially isolated schools in the nearly all-black Oak Cliff subdistrict and despite the fact that this segregated arrangement could result in intraracial strife among blacks.

There have been solid accomplishments in education as a result of the joint black-brown-white planning for school desegregation. The magnet schools in Dallas are shining examples of the educational benefit of school desegregation. Yet, the definition of success for the Dallas Plan appears to be based not so much on what has been accomplished as how it has been accomplished: Peacefully. Tranquility, of course, is something of value, if it can be accomplished without suppressing the self-interests of one sector of the community to facilitate fulfillment of the self-interests of others.

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Chapter 10

Employment Discrimination and Organizational Efficiency

Paul F. Salipante, Jr.

ABSTRACT

A common view among managers is that reducing employment discrimination will lead to decreased personnel efficiency in their organizations. Since this perception can serve as an impediment to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) efforts, it is important for those concerned with EEO to respond to such a view. Economic theories, in fact, indicate that discrimination does not have a rational economic basis and that reducing discrimination should lead to increased, not decreased, efficiency in the long run. While arguments have been made that short-term costs and inefficiencies accompany EEO efforts, there is no empirical research supporting such a view. Drawing on this analysis of efficiency and of the causes of employment discrimination are attempts to reduce discrimination in organizations. To combat discrimination, EEO activists can turn efficiency arguments in their favor, especially with those who are otherwise indifferent toward or supportive of EEO efforts.

The elimination of discrimination in employment has been a goal of the Federal Government for many years. In fact, it has been about 30 years since President Truman sent a civil rights message to Congress and ordered an end to racial discrimination in the Armed Forces. Well over 15 years have passed since the Government made Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) a national priority through passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Yet, despite the time that institutions have had to gain experience with EEO and despite the marshaling of strong legal and moral arguments, employment discrimination has not been entirely eliminated. The legal and moral arguments, in combination with governmental pressure, apparently have not been sufficient to induce organizations to institute totally equitable employment practices. Economic arguments have been raised to counter the legal and moral ones.

A common view is that reducing discrimination will be costly to organizations. Through personal experiences with organizations, the author has discovered that this view is reflected in such statements as:

> We cannot find qualified minority workers, so hiring more minorities means reducing efficiency.
>
> We would have to change all our hiring and promotion practices.
>
> Our workers will not work well with minorities.
>
> Our clients would object if we placed a minority in that sales job.

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Such views must be taken seriously. Most organizations are, of necessity, highly concerned with efficiency and potential loss of revenue. The key question, then, is whether statements of the type listed above are accurate. What response can be made to these statements? Further, can the persistence of discriminatory practices in organizations actually be due to efficiency considerations? The purpose of this paper is to investigate these questions, broadening the analysis to include views counter to those given above.

Employment Discrimination

Current status and recent trends in employment discrimination have been investigated by economists and industrial relations researchers. A study comparing 1960 and 1970 census data showed a 15-percent improvement in the nonwhite-to-white earnings ratio (Haworth, Gwartney, and Haworth 1975). Reviews of prior research also concluded that nonwhite earnings have risen relative to white earnings (Anderson and Wallace 1975; Flanagan 1976). A tabulation through 1974 of a similar earnings ratio indicates that this trend has continued (Ashenfelter 1976, p. 478). However, Haworth et al.'s cohort analysis revealed that less than half of the gain, about 6 percent, can be attributed to reduced discrimination by employers. Another 6 percent is attributable to the departure from the labor force of older nonwhites and entry of

younger, better prepared nonwhites. Similarly, Flanagan's (1976) review found some support for gains being attributable to improved minority worker quality, especially among black males. Thus, the trend in relative nonwhite earnings is upward, but only part of this trend is attributable to reduced employment discrimination.

Data indicate that the upward trend has not brought about parity with whites, at least among young workers. While Haworth et al. (1975) report better returns to education (i.e., better employment utilization of capabilities) for young than old, an earnings differential in favor of whites persists even in the youngest cohorts. Investigation of personnel records of three Chicago area firms indicates racial discrimination attributable to hiring and initial placement practices in two of six samples of workers (Cassel, Director, and Doctors, 1975). Anderson and Wallace's (1975) review concludes that earnings differentials still exist, especially among young and prime-age black males. Such black males have been leaving the labor force in increasing numbers, no longer bothering to search for jobs. Investigation of recent unemployment rates for young blacks provides ample explanation of this phenomenon and suggests that there has been discrimination in hiring. A large sample comparison of changes in individual workers' earnings from 1965 to 1970 shows differentials in favor of whites, even among those remaining with the same firm (Steinberg 1975), suggesting discrimination in placement and promotion.

A survey of young black male professionals shows that only 28 percent feel they have opportunity equal to that of whites, many citing difficulty in moving into supervisory or management positions (Shapiro 1973). Over 50 percent of their white bosses agree that they have fewer opportunities.

In summary, the picture that emerges from both objective and subjective data is that discrimination still exists in hiring, placement, and promotion.

Initial Causes of Employment Discrimination

Knowledge of the possible causes of discrimination helps in understanding the persistence of discrimination and the costs associated with its reduction. The causes considered here focus on the organizational rather than the psychological level.

A potential cause of the development of racial discrimination in organizations is simply that prejudice was pervasive among organizational members, leading naturally to the development of policies and practices reflecting racist attitudes. A second possible cause is that racism was present in society at large, resulting in less education and training of minorities and, in turn, fewer job opportunities. A third possible cause is that racist attitudes existed only among some organizational members, but these attitudes and their institutionalization were tolerated by the rest of the members (Waters 1976*b*). An historical analysis of illegal (e.g., price-fixing) activity in organizations demonstrates that a small group of middle managers can effectively institutionalize procedures which are contrary to top management policy (Waters 1976*a*). With passive acceptance by others in the organization of racist practices, a small number of managers and other decisionmakers (e.g., union stewards) can make discriminatory practices pervasive and persistent. Each of these possible causes has implications for the problems associated with reducing discrimination.

The third explanation is the most novel and deserves further analysis at this point. It has the advantage of parsimony in that it does not require uniformity of attitudes across large numbers of people, yet it explains how discriminatory practices can persist, even if those with racist views were to leave the organization. For example, if minorities were only hired into low-level, routine jobs in a segregated unit, management would subsequently find it difficult to promote them because of their lack of acquired skills. Management would have to engage in active programs to prevent future discrimination, e.g., new recruiting sources would have to be found, if minorities with more skills were to be hired. On an optimistic note, the third cause implies that the process originally used by a small group to institute discriminatory practices could be used by another small group for the opposite purpose. A small group at middle organizational levels could influence some key decisions and eventually institutionalize equitable practices without new policy directives from top management. But if eliminating discriminatory practices means incurring additional costs and a reduction in work force productivity, as implied earlier, a group seeking to eliminate discrimination would be opposed by many managers, for whom efficiency is rightly a major concern, and by those who have racist views. Institutionalized discrimination would persist.

Eliminating discrimination means not only overcoming the inertia associated with institutionalization of discrimination but also overcoming the organizational forces which initially led to and continue to support discrimination. The magnitude of these forces depends on the cause of discrimination. If it is the first cause (pervasive racism in the organization), then the forces will be formidable. If it is the second (racism in society but not the organization) or the third (small group with racism views), the forces will be less. Thus, the various explanations for discrimination in organizations carry implications for its reduction.

Further, the question of efficiency is seen to be relevant to discrimination in organizations, since the attainment of an organization's goals is strongly dependent on its internal efficiency. For profit-oriented organizations and those facing tight budgetary constraints, demonstrating that discrimination leads to lower efficiency provides a strong incentive to eliminate discrimination. Conversely, if reducing discrimination leads to lower efficiency, then organizations can be expected to drag their feet on EEO efforts. The discrimination-efficiency relationship is therefore a critical one.

Discrimination and Efficiency

Arguments against anti-discrimination activities such as the statements at the beginning of this paper suggest that reducing discrimination is costly to firms because it reduces their efficiency. There is reason, however, to think that the opposite is the case. Efficiency is dependent on the quality of performance of the organization's tasks and the labor costs associated with such performance. Holding technology and organization constant, performance quality and cost are determined primarily by the skills and motivation of the employees performing the tasks.

With regard to empirical evidence on discrimination and efficiency, consider the situation where an organization has slack (Cyert and March 1963), an operating surplus which allows it to sacrifice some efficiency. If discrimination can only be engaged in at the expense of lower efficiency, then we should find more discrimination in organizations with slack than in other organizations. That is, business firms which are only marginally profitable should have less ability to indulge in the luxury of discrimination, while firms with strong market positions or social organizations could afford to discriminate. This view and the preceding analysis do indeed have empirical, if indirect, support—the existence of a dual labor market. Study of the employment experiences of minority workers has led to the view that the labor market is segmented into primary (favorable) and secondary (distasteful or short-term) jobs, with many minorities having no opportunities except in the secondary labor market (Liebow 1967; Piore 1970). In the course of interviewing over 100 Chicago area firms for a project on disadvantaged workers, this writer's observations coincided with the above. Many plants located in or near inner-city neighborhoods were marginally profitable and experiencing strong competitive pressures. Most such firms had been employing minorities for years. More profitable firms located in the suburbs had few minority workers and began efforts to hire them only after governmental pressure in the late 1960s. The implication is that discrimination is a luxury that cannot be practiced by marginally profitable firms.

Analyses based on economic theory also lead to the conclusion that discrimination comes at the cost of lower efficiency (Thurow 1969; Becker 1971). In Becker's model, employers have varying tastes for discrimination. These tastes imply that an employer faced with a black applicant of somewhat higher skill than a white applicant will choose the white applicant despite his lower skills. The consequence of such decisions is that a resource (minority labor) is misallocated, leading to a reduction in efficiency.

The basis of this argument—that employers have a taste for discrimination—explains the observed existence of the white-nonwhite earnings differential. Clearly, it corresponds closely with the first cause for discrimination discussed above, that racism is pervasive in organizations. Given a taste for discrimination, it is difficult to argue with the logic that such a preference leads to reduced efficiency. By the same logic, the third possible cause for discrimination—that it is institutionalized in organizational procedures by a subgroup of organizational members—also implies that efficiency is reduced, since minority labor is underutilized because of the procedures' bias toward whites. Therefore, two of the explanations for discrimination imply that organizations suffer reduced efficiency (higher labor costs) if they discriminate.

Any argument that discrimination does *not* lead to reduced organizational efficiency must deal with the observed earnings differential between

whites and nonwhites. The second possible cause of discrimination successfully argues that, because of discrimination in society at large, minority workers come to organizations with lower capabilities than whites. Organizations can therefore utilize minorities to their full capability, thereby satisfying the criterion for efficiency, and yet show a white-nonwhite earnings differential. By this argument, the employing organizations themselves are, in effect, not discriminating in a pejorative sense but dealing objectively with the differentials in available labor and therefore maximizing their labor efficiency.

This argument does not stand up under empirical analysis. The studies cited earlier to establish the existence of earnings differentials analytically accounted for the capabilities of workers. Using human capital models, they controlled such factors as education and experience and still found earnings differentials. A respected sociological study by Blaue and Duncan (1967) found that, at high educational levels, the black-white differential in socioeconomic status (SES) was greater than at low educational levels. Comparing blacks and whites with equivalent educations, a black with graduate training was likely to have a bigger black-white income gap than was a black high school dropout. Thus, there is evidence that employers do not use the capabilities of minorities to the same degree as those of whites and that they consequently suffer reduced efficiency.

One attempted counterargument that discrimination does *not* reduce efficiency is that discrimination creates a pool of low-wage labor which can be exploited by organizations. While this is true for employers in the secondary labor market who can employ at low wages the workers excluded by other employers, it is not true overall because, as one group of workers is excluded, the wages of the "preferred" workers are raised. For female workers there is, in fact, evidence of such an exclusion-wage relationship. As female workers have increased their percentage in certain occupations, the average wages in those occupations have declined relative to other occupations (Ferber and Lowry 1976, p. 384), thereby making workers available to employers at lower wages. The problem is analogous to the erection of trade barriers between nations, a practice which results in reduced overall efficiency. Becker's (1971) analysis, which can be understood in terms of trade barriers, suggests that the artificial creation of a pool of low-wage workers hinders overall efficiency. The firms which appear to pay the most in terms of reduced efficiency are those in the primary labor market.

There is still an apparently viable argument that runs counter to the reduced efficiency implications of all the above discussions. The analysis showing that discrimination reduces efficiency rests on the assumption "all things being equal." This assumption holds up, if considering the optimal state of affairs, comparing efficiency under no discrimination with that under discrimination. However, an analysis based on this assumption may not tell what would happen if, specifically, the operative organizational issue is not simply, "Does discrimination reduce efficiency?" but rather, "Will moving toward nondiscrimination increase efficiency?" In so moving, will "other things" change rather than remain the same? For instance, white workers may refuse to work up to their capabilities, if they must work with minority workers, or minority workers may not be able to work to their capabilities, if hostile whites withhold cooperation.

Doeringer and Piore (1971), studying the problems of equal employment opportunity in a number of firms, suggest that eliminating discrimination can result in increased, not reduced, costs to firms. Often, race provides a quick, simple criterion for selection, placement, and promotion decisions. Shifting to more equitable but necessarily complex criteria does not necessarily yield improved performance, especially if there are many qualified whites available. Similarly, adding new recruitment channels, which could provide minority workers with the required skills, costs time and money.

Basically, Doeringer and Piore argue that eliminating discrimination means a disruptive change in the internal labor allocation policies of firms and that this change produces additional costs to the firm. In addition, the changed allocation policies mean a reduction in security and advancement opportunities for whites in the firm. Usually, the internal labor force (those already employed by the firm) are given preference over the external labor force in advancement decisions, the expected results being lower training costs, improved morale, and higher motivation to perform well. If firms which have racially discriminated in selection are to eliminate discrimination at all organization levels, they must make increased use of the external labor force in order to find minority workers. In so doing, they give less preference to the internal market and may suffer lower morale, motivation,

and performance among their current employees.

Although the above seems to indicate that organizations which reduce discrimination bear costs and may well experience a drop in efficiency, there is a way to resolve the efficiency implications of this pragmatic view with the opposing implications of the more abstract economic analysis presented earlier. The costs borne by organizations as they reduce discrimination appear to be short-term, transient. In the short run, these costs may (or may not) exceed the gains resulting from better use of the minority labor force, while, in the long run, the ultimate benefits of better resource use predominate, with higher efficiency the result.

The issue, then, is whether the long-term gains will exceed the short-term costs. The following provides tentative insight into this problem by examining several discriminatory practices in organizations and considering their effects on efficiency. We have seen that the efficiency-discrimination issue is not settled, especially with regard to short-term effects, and that some reluctance to eliminate discriminatory practices may result from rational, if short-term, efficiency considerations. By considering various discriminatory practices, we can make some judgment as to whether efficiency is a reason for their existence or merely a rationalization.

Efficiency Rationales for Discriminatory Practices

Information on discriminatory practices in organizations and especially the rationale behind them is not easy to find. For over a year, this writer has required students in his graduate management classes to write brief papers on EEO practices of organizations they have been in. The students were, with few exceptions, white, male, and employed full-time. While their perceptions of the rationale underlying certain practices were sometimes only educated guesses, the students' reports were candid and apparently suffered much less from a "social desirability" reporting bias than would those of a sample of managers interviewed in the field. The student reports of practices and rationales form the basis for much of the following discussion.

Hiring. Hiring discrimination may be practiced by the use of recruitment sources which provide few minority applicants, e.g., suburban employment agencies and colleges with low percentages of minority graduates. Doeringer and Piore argue that that there are costs in switching to less biased sources. Recruitment sources build up a relationship with an organization over time and learn what employee qualifications are valued by the organization. By pre-screening job candidates, the recruitment sources save the organization much time and effort. The recruitment sources of many organizations have learned not to refer minority candidates; thus, eliminating recruiting bias requires either reeducating the existing sources or seeking new sources of minority applicants. While the former may only be a matter of a phone call, it may well be that the source has few minority applicants anyway. The latter requires establishing new channels and then screening applicants, until the new channels learn to pre-screen on the objective and subjective criteria used by the organization. But the organization may not be willing to accept the higher short-term costs of less racially biased recruiting.

This argument neglects the fact that costs of changes in recruitment channels are incurred anyway. Personnel changes occur in both the recruitment sources and in the organization's hiring group. The organization has changes in its selection criteria which have to be communicated to the recruitment sources. Thus, the incremental cost of phasing in unbiased channels over time may actually be small.

Selection. Discrimination in selection can occur as organizations set unnecessarily restrictive qualifications for a job. Often, educational requirements far above those actually needed on the job are effective in screening out minority applicants. Although this practice is now illegal, judging by students' reports, it is still practiced. To remain within the guidelines of EEO enforcement agencies, employers must validate selection criteria having differential impacts. However, an employer may easily validate statistically some discriminatory criteria which, in fact, are not valid. Another practice, which meets the letter but not the spirit of EEO laws, is the hiring of "acceptable" minorities e.g., Orientals, physically handicapped workers. Also, a firm may acquire a reputation of being hostile to minorities so that very few minorities apply; consequently, there are few opportunities for discrimination charges to be brought.

Perhaps the most subtle and hard to detect discriminatory selection practice is the screening of applicants until a white applicant is found with qualifications superior to those of the most

qualified minority applicant. This practice costs the organization more time and effort than an unbiased selection would. Similarly, having to validate criteria because the employer is unwilling to use criteria without a racially differential impact can be costly. It can be argued that validated criteria (even if not truly valid) or arbitrarily high criteria produce more qualified job applicants who will perform better. However, they demand higher wages commensurate with their qualifications, and there is evidence to refute their superior performance.

Doeringer and Piore argue that for many jobs there is a surplus of qualified applicants. While using race as a selection criterion may falsely eliminate some qualified individuals, it reduces the number of applicants who must be seriously considered: Money is saved, and still a qualified applicant is found.

Performance. Over the tenure of an employee in a firm, his or her performance is likely to have a far greater impact on costs and profits than are savings or costs in the hiring process itself. The organization must find the applicant most suited to the position, the one who will make the greatest contribution to the organization over the long term. Considering the objective requirements of the job, race should not be a criterion at all. However, as noted previously, other factors enter the picture: Will hiring a minority employee have an adverse effect on the performance of other employees? Will other employees fail to support the minority worker so he or she cannot perform at the required level? If so, the organization may suffer reduced efficiency from minority job holders.

There are indications that the performance of minorities in organizations is not, in fact, a problem. Managers closely associated with their firm's employment of disadvantaged workers reported that, while time to reach standard performance was sometimes longer for unskilled or semi-skilled workers, their ultimate performance was the same as that of other workers (Salipante 1975). This is not surprising in jobs where performance is often determined more by mechanical pacing and by group norms of acceptable performance (Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939; Roy 1952) than by individual capabilities. Yet, the same result on minority workers' performance seems to hold at higher job levels. About 80 percent of the managers of a sample of black professionals rated the latter's performance good or excellent (Shapiro 1973). While the research to date is far from definitive, it indicates that the performance of minorities themselves does not have a negative impact on organizational efficiency.

Among areas where efforts to reduce discrimination may actually reduce efficiency is a hiring guideline of some enforcement agencies that employers should hire minorities in proportion to their representation among applicants (Griess 1976). If relevant worker qualifications differ by race in an applicant pool, as they are likely to where there is discrimination in education and training, the organization will suffer reduced efficiency if it must hire less qualified workers. Further, the organization is opening itself up to reverse discrimination charges, and recent judicial decisions increase the likelihood of such charges being upheld. This point bespeaks a more general problem for organizations attempting to reduce discrimination. The legal situation is sufficiently undefined and unstable that organizations may expend considerable effort trying to decide the legal and proper course of action (Lopez 1975).

Both of these potential negative effects on efficiency are caused by specific EEO enforcement practices. As enforcement becomes more sophisticated and coordinated (as the uniform guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Commission), the problems should be eliminated. Only if enforcement reaches the point of forcing organizations to hire less qualified applicants—an unlikely possibility, given recent court decisions—are enforcement attempts to reduce discrimination likely to have serious negative effects on organizational efficiency.

Overall, it does not appear that discriminatory practices in hiring or selection are explained by efficiency considerations. Potential costs appear to be short term rather than long term. The chief qualification to this statement is the unresearched possibility that the performance of white workers may decline when additional minorities are hired.

Placement and Promotion. Since both placement and promotion involve judging the fit between an individual and a job, they are discussed concurrently. The essential problem for minorities has been their lack of access to certain jobs requiring high skills. To the degree that minorities' training or experiences are inferior, placement in low-skill positions is explained by efficiency considerations. However, students' reports indicate that there are a number of factors other than a worker's capabili-

ties which enter into a manager's decision on placement or promotion of a minority employee.

One factor is the possible negative consequence of a minority employee failing in a new job. The organization could be reluctant to fire or demote the minority employee for fear of a costly discrimination suit being brought against the organization by the upset employee. If a minority and a white job candidate were thought to have an equal probability of success on a job, the white candidate would be preferred because of lower negative consequences of failure, with the result that fewer minorities are promoted. It has been speculated in the press that such a rationale operated in baseball regarding the long-delayed hiring of a black manager—a public outcry was feared, if he had to be fired. Another consequence of the rationale is that minorities who were hired or promoted would be placed primarily in positions in which their probability of failure would be low. Often, these positions are those with low responsibility, where even a poor performance does not affect efficiency appreciably. Such positions, however, are not challenging and do not have a high promotion potential, and, consequently, the minority's upward movement is stifled.

Ultimately, then, the organization may underutilize minority potential compared to white potential, justifying it on the basis of lower discrimination-suit costs. The justification may well be fallacious, however, since terminated minorities are not the only ones who can file suits. Underemployed minorities, those who are kept in low-skill positions while capable of and aspiring to higher ones, may be at least as likely to bring suit as terminated minorities are. While research on EEO suits is required to determine whether this is so, studies on the cause of civil disorders in the mid-1960s indicate that underemployed minorities, not the unemployed, were most active in the civil disturbances (Kobrak 1971). If the same pattern holds for EEO suits, disgruntled current employees would bring more suits. Consequently, organizations placing minorities in low-risk but unchallenging and dead-end jobs would have higher suit costs than if they placed minorities equitably.

The other major rationale for differential placement of minorities and whites with similar capabilities concerns the relationships between the employees and those with whom they must work. That this relationship is a basic consideration in a placement decision follows from the concept of an organization as a cooperative system (Barnard 1938). If whites do not work well with minority employees, the firm loses efficiency by placing minorities in positions where cooperation is required. Many students reported just this rationale, applying it both to an employee's co-workers and, even more often, to the organization's clients. With regard to co-workers, the problem of a negative reaction has been alluded to in an earlier section of this paper. It is possible not only that the minority worker will find it difficult to perform his job, but also that white workers will reduce their own efficiency as a reaction to minorities. A contrary effect not mentioned in students' reports and apparently ignored by many managers is the lack of promotions for minorities leading to reduced performance by other minorities in the organization. An effect similar to this has been found in firms with many minority workers; low minority promotion opportunities were related to high minority turnover (Goodman and Salipante 1976).

A manager may hesitate to promote minorities to positions in which they come in contact with the manager's own boss, since he believes his boss to be a racist. If the manager were to promote a minority, his own promotion prospects, which depend on his boss's appraisal, could be diminished. Another corollary of expected adverse reaction by co-workers is a manager's unwillingness to promote minorities into a position where they will be hassled—for their own good, minorities should not be placed in such positions. The reasons for not placing minorities in the same manner as whites are not based on efficiency considerations and, therefore, can be justified by personal rather than by organizational considerations.

Adverse reactions to minority workers that clients are expected to have were often cited by students. Organizations may not want to place minorities in branches serving suburban, predominantly white areas. Similarly, minority salesmen may not be given territories in areas where the clients are white and, especially, where racist attitudes are thought to be strongest, for fear that clients will switch to competing organizations. As with adverse co-worker reaction, there is little research with which to judge the reasonableness of this view. Clearly, organizations with a strong market position (i.e., little chance for the client to find a substitute product or service) cannot use this argument to justify differential placement.

Expectation of adverse reactions of workers or clients effectively reduces the number of jobs for which minorities are considered: There are fewer promotions for minorities. If a firm "over-promotes" minorities into available positions, segregated work units result, but the organization cannot be accused of discrimination in terms of overall promotion numbers or level of positions. While this procedure may not meet the spirit of EEO, it does provide a way for organizations to comply with basic EEO regulations while avoiding potential efficiency problems.

Reactions. The question is whether adverse reaction actually exists to such a degree that it seriously affects efficiency. It may be that organizations are overestimating the reaction and its effect on efficiency, or they are using it to rationalize past and present discrimination, as existing research on co-worker relations suggests. The limited evidence that minority workers' performance in organizations is comparable to that of co-workers suggests that possible co-worker reaction is not severe enough to affect minority workers' performance. Further, in a survey of black, male professionals, more than 60 percent rated their relations with white superiors, co-workers, and subordinates as good or excellent (Shapiro 1973).

There may be a serious client-reaction problem in positions where employees contact the public. Organizations can determine if their expectations are accurate by assigning a minority to such a position and monitoring the performance result. Organizations not doing so can be accused of using adverse client reaction as an excuse for discrimination in placement and promotion.

Overall, efficiency considerations—being forced to hire unqualified workers, negative reaction of clients—may legitimately pose a dilemma for an organization: Truly equitable hiring and promotion practices come at the cost of reduced efficiency. Undoubtedly, there are organizations in situations where such a dilemma is real. However, there is some evidence that most of the efficiency considerations are either short term or fallacious in many situations. Firms willing to take risks on capable minority workers and to monitor the performance results of the workers and their units could do much to add to knowledge on the efficiency issue. It is also apparent that many existing discriminatory practices are not attributable to efficiency considerations.

Implications for Reducing Discrimination

Parties attempting to institute equitable policies must deal with two factors associated with the continuation of employment discrimination: (1) the racial attitudes of organizational members, especially the decisionmakers, and (2) efficiency considerations. Legal and moral arguments respond only to the first factor. Antidiscrimination forces must also be prepared to respond to the second.

Until now, efficiency considerations have been propounded as reasons for not reducing discrimination. However, efficiency arguments do not cut the legs out from under those attempting to reduce discrimination. To the contrary, long-term organizational efficiency should increase as discrimination is reduced. While some short-term costs may occur, in the long run the effect of improved use of minority resources will dominate, resulting in lower labor costs and better performance. Activists should master the economic concepts involved and turn the efficiency arguments in their favor. Since efficiency is a watchword for management, efficiency arguments have a strong impact on organizational decisionmakers. Even in organizations with an operating surplus, individual administrators feel pressure for higher efficiency. While efficiency arguments alone will not suffice to persuade organizations to reduce discrimination, they may serve to reduce resistance to EEO efforts. When administrators explain that EEO has not been pushed further because they believe it would be costly, the activist must be prepared to counter these claims.

Let us consider each of the previously discussed causes of employment discrimination in terms of their implications for organizational actions needed to reduce discrimination. Organizations and units within organizations will differ on which cause is most applicable to that unit. The first task of the activist should be to assess which cause or combination of causes best explains discrimination in the particular unit. Making an incorrect diagnosis of cause or selecting one strategy to reduce discrimination in all units will lead to actions inappropriate for some units.

The simplest case to handle is discrimination due to society at large rather than the organizational unit itself. In this situation, those responsible for the organization's EEO efforts should ensure that stereotypes do not develop which prevent minority

individuals who are qualified from being given a fair chance. It should be impressed upon those doing the hiring and promoting that efficiency considerations require them to review applicants as individuals, not as members of a more or less qualified group, and select the most qualified individual. The activist should also identify sources of qualified minority applicants.

A more difficult case occurs when discrimination is actively encouraged by a small group of employees and the indifference of others. The feeling that EEO is costly may account for this indifference among those whose attitudes and values would otherwise lead them to follow equitable practices. To counter the indifference, the actions described above may again be used but should be supplemented by others. One strategy would be to demonstrate to those who are indifferent that the efficiency arguments are not in favor of those opposing EEO. A convincing way to do so would be to analyze cases in the organization itself where minorities had been placed, determine that these placements had not resulted in efficiency declines, and present this analysis to those who are in doubt. In the event that actual declines in efficiency are found, the activist should closely examine the organization's EEO policies in order to determine that they are aimed at equal employment opportunities rather than at acceptable minority employment statistics.

Another approach to counteract racist attitudes held by a minority of decisionmakers is to form a counter group of activist decisionmakers, not necessarily at the top level. Its goal would be to identify administrators in the indifferent group and attempt to change their staffing practices by demonstrating the feasibility of hiring and promoting minorities. Efforts to change racist attitudes should not be aimed at the indifferent administrators, as they may well become resistant to EEO if accused of racism. Once the indifferent group has been won over, efforts (such as those discussed below) can be directed at those with strong racist views.

The worst situation is pervasive racism in an organization. Demonstrating that reducing discrimination results in long-term efficiency improvements would give top management an incentive to promulgate EEO policies throughout the organization. However, the power of middle management is often sufficient to dull the impact of these policies (Dalton 1959; Waters 1976a). Based on Dalton's first-hand observations of middle management power tactics, there are two mechanisms which can make the adoption of the policies at middle levels more likely. One is the institution of new systems of procedures and controls. In the promotion area, open staffing systems (Alfred 1967) provide more equitable access to promotions. These systems involve open posting of and bidding on all jobs available in the organization, as well as formalized procedures for selection and feedback (to those not selected for the job they bid on). Open staffing has several general advantages to recommend it, and activists should argue these advantages.

The other mechanism for moving middle management is cost reduction. In many organizations, individual managers are held accountable for certain costs and make great efforts to keep these costs at acceptable levels in order to enhance their promotion prospects. If middle managers were shown that reducing discrimination would result in reduced labor costs (through the hiring of the most qualified workers, regardless of race or sex), they could be expected to sacrifice some discriminatory practices for reduced costs. If the organization feels there will be short-term costs, it could give temporary cost writeoffs to those managers who hire minorities. The most cost-conscious administrators would then have a strong incentive to employ minorities.

Although the arguments for discrimination resulting in reduced efficiency seem to be shortsighted, rest on questionable assumptions, or ignore countervailing effects, those concerned with reducing discrimination must be aware of two sources of long-term inefficiencies which this analysis has not ruled out. These are little controlled by individual organizations and require effort by activists outside the organization. The most important issue is that of poor minority employee capabilities. If an organization is pressured to hire more minorities, but the minorities do not have capabilities equal to those of whites, organizational efficiency will suffer. Thus, the rate of improvement of minority labor capabilities in society at large places an upper limit on the rate of improvement in minority employment status attained without organizational inefficiency. Minority labor capabilities are on the rise, resulting in better employment for many minorities. Further, reduced employment discrimination is providing more incentives for minorities to acquire the needed labor skills.

Another major inefficiency factor is the reaction of clients. Given a free and competitive product market, there is often little that an organization can do to prevent a client from switching to another organization to avoid dealing with a minority employee. However, activist managers can take a strong position with clients in supporting minority workers, pointing out the capable job which these workers can perform for the client. Researchers can also play an active role through well-controlled studies of the performance (e.g., sales record) of minorities in client-contact roles to indicate whether organizations are over- or underestimating client reactions.

In many cases, efficiency considerations may be used unjustifiably as an excuse for discrimination, while long-term efficiency considerations in fact would show the organizationally rational course to be a reduction in discrimination. Therefore, to deal effectively with organizational decisionmakers, those working to reduce discrimination must be able to distinguish between accurate and fallacious efficiency considerations.

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Chapter 11

Racism and Mental Health: An Exploration of the Racist's Illness and the Victim's Health

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ABSTRACT

The field of mental health has had difficulty in developing an adequate conceptualization of racism as a mental health problem. In this chapter, the racist's dysfunctional thinking and behavior are discussed and placed within the current nosology of mental illness. In light of the pervasive and potentially devastating influence of racism, it is surprising that black rates of institutionalization are not higher than they are. The role of black community life, including the persistence of many "Africanisms," is explored as one explanation of the emotional resiliency of many blacks.

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The mental health profession was caught ill prepared for black declarations that it, too, was racist (Sabshin 1970). The immediate response on the part of the profession was to treat racism as a mental health issue. But, from its inception as a problem area, there was some uneasiness. Not simply a psychoneurosis generated and sustained by random individuals, racism was recognized as being institutional as well as personal; it was the expected behavior of individuals within a wide variety of social settings (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967). It seemed unlikely that one could eliminate the personal dimension of racism without also eliminating the institutional.

After some soul searching, the field returned to its former fascination with blacks as isolated cases of pathology: Its efforts to combat racism became a desire to offer more therapy to blacks. The racism of whites was not a subject of therapeutic concern. Judging from the response of the mental health field at large, one would think that racism is solely a black clinical problem.

Combating racism is problematic to the field, partly because the phenomenon of racism, both on the personal and on the institutional level, does not fit into the established model of mental illness (Macklin 1972). It is not a physical illness subject to scientific analysis and manipulation. It is complex, ambiguous, unmanageable, and pervasive. The poor handling of racism as a mental illness is not necessarily due to a conscious racism on the part of mental health professionals; it is largely due to the field of mental health itself being a social and cultural enterprise subject to the same historical conditioning as that of the wider population (Opler 1967).

Racism as a General Cultural Problem

To assess whether or not the field of mental health can effectively combat racism, we need to know more about racism itself. That it is personal and institutional is insufficient. An examination of racism throughout history shows that it changes with the times; as one expression of it becomes inadequate, another emerges (Gossett 1963; Jordan 1968), indicating that it is neither a minor nor a temporary flaw in society.

One can assume that all cultural groups are to some degree ethnocentric; that is, they make a "we-they" distinction between themselves and others. We do not know whether this necessarily leads to a belief that one's culture is superior to that of other groups, implying personal superiority as well (Bloom 1971). One could speculate that long-term contact with a multitude of groups makes it difficult to maintain a position of ethnocentric supremacy. This beneficial result of intergroup contact was evident during the period of trade between Southern Europeans and North Africans before the 12th century (Clarke 1970). As long as North Africans and Southern Europeans dealt with each other as political equals, racism was minimal.

The situation was different, however, between Portuguese and English traders and West Africans in the 16th century. By this time, the Western Europeans had replaced the Southerners in prominence, and African societies were experiencing cultural and political upheaval caused by Moslem expansion and growth of the Sahara across fertile areas (Williams 1971). The English reached West Africa without previous contact with its culture and were confronted with politically disorganized groups. The physical and cultural differences between the Englishman and the African were enormous; of greatest significance the contrast of white and dark brown skins. For the English explorer, there was no way of interpreting this new contrasting dimension without reference to folklore and to religious traditions which symbolically equate darkness and blackness with demonic qualities. Differing and mutually unintelligible language and customs simply reinforced in the European mind the symbolic interpretation of Africans as an evil or, at best, a nonhuman social form (Jordan 1968). In addition, the tropical background lent itself to the Englishman's first and lasting impression of Africans: There appeared to be a closer visual similarity between the African and the monkey than between Africans and white Europeans. Thus, it was assumed that the African was a primate rather than a human, not given the regard for soul, spirit, intellect, custom, or feelings which one extends even to an enemy. In time, the literate English public believed these first and erroneous impressions; once believed, they became a truth reinforced by religion, folklore, and the institution of slavery.

Despite over a century of slavery and Europeans' belief in their spiritual superiority, the Africans' humanity became increasingly evident. The Africans' ability to adapt to English customs raised doubts about their subhuman capabilities. In addition, the Catholic Portuguese recognized Africans as having souls and of being capable of becoming Christians. They could no longer rely on the symbolic associations of race to provide undeniable evidence of the subhuman nature of Africans (Pagliaro 1973). At this point, a new form of racism evolved to justify past behavior and legitimize continued slavery.

This new form of racism was an intellectual rationalization which recognized the humanity of Africans but held that, within this humanity, there were different levels of development: Some people were more human, while others were less so and thus inferior (Haller 1971). Among the concepts providing a framework for this new form of racism was that of a chain of beings, in which some were endowed with greater spiritual qualities than others, a concept related to the Linnaean classification of stages in human physical evolution. There also developed an entire literature on the selective natural histories of races, inspired by Darwin's *Origin of the Species* and *Descent of Man*. All of the classification systems developed to justify slavery had different levels of development among humans and, of course, the English were the most highly evolved and spiritually endowed. This biological racism could still draw on cultural symbolism and religious beliefs, although these were no longer sufficient in themselves to justify slavery. But, at the same time, biological racism could incorporate into its own assessment of the races the growing realization that Africans were human beings.

As long as slavery was practiced, it regulated the status of blacks as well as the nature and amount of social interaction which could occur between the races. Once slavery was abolished, the belief system which had justified it remained intact, and the need for regulation of status and racial interaction continued. Thus a new form of regulation came into being: Limitations on what blacks could do or be were institutionalized throughout their daily life—in marriage, religion, education, and work. The classical expressions of institutionalized racism are South African apartheid and the American South's Jim Crow tradition, where caste lines limited status and could not be crossed without severe penalties (Johnson 1943; Knowles and Prewitt 1969).

In recent years, the continued expression of racism has had a more covert quality; restrictions are not spelled out. To be overt is to call attention to one's actions, encouraging organized opposition. More effective restriction can be accomplished informally through closed covenants in housing, inferior schools, and differential access to information.

One current form of institutional racism is reflected in a contemporary intellectual explanation of the subordinate place of blacks in American life. This explanation can be contrasted with biological racism as one which does not hold that blacks are innately inferior; in fact, it recognizes the potential equality of the races. The contem-

porary expression of racism explains the differences between the races by attributing them to environmental factors. Terms such as "cultural deprivation," "stimulus deprivation," and "the disorganized black family," point to deficiencies in one race's cultural life compared with that of the other. In effect, black culture and community, rather than the opportunity structure, are deemed defective, and blacks are assumed to live in a self-generated cultural poverty. The focus of attention is on the victims' problems rather than on the causes of victimization (Leacock 1971; Ryan 1971).

The environmental racist is unwilling to advocate or support environmental changes which would eliminate systematic racial subordination and the need for concepts of defective culture, holding that the deficient other could be equal to himself or herself if given the same environmental opportunities. Meanwhile, nothing is done either to recognize positive aspects of the other's culture or to produce a common set of opportunities. Thus, while the environmentalist's understanding of blacks' misfortunes is different from that of the biological racist, the result is the same: restrictions on status and attainment by race.

Although the rationale for inequality among races has changed over time, the central function of racism has not. Spiritual and cultural racism of the 19th century, biological racism, and the environmental racism of our day are all beliefs supportive of behaviors which maintain the higher status of one race over others. Fanon (1968) defines racism as the rationalization of behaviors maintaining the superior-inferior role relations between two or more racially defined groups or individuals in order to maintain perceived material and psychic advantages. Distinguishing racism as institutional or personal is ultimately meaningless, since the two are mutually reinforcing: Institutional racism encourages personal racists who, in turn, reinforce the institutional. It is, of course, easier to look at racism as a behavioral, economic, or psychological problem for the victim rather than as a form of psychologically reinforced competition between the racist and the victim.

Racism as a Mental Health Problem

The American Psychiatric Association (1977) in the DSM-II classifies mental illness in three major categories: organic brain disorders, functional disorders, and mental deficiencies. The first are described as being most often the effects of toxics, direct damage to the nervous system, or neural malfunction. The second group, the functional disorders, have not clearly established physical causes and are ascribed to personal maladjustment or the response to extreme circumstances. The third group, mental deficiencies, are attributed to heredity, poor pre- or postnatal nutrition, or the interaction between the two.

If racism is to be viewed as a mental health problem, it would fit best as a functional disorder, or better still as the expression of a variety of such disorders. From what we know of racism and racist behavior, it is unlikely that it is caused by neural disorder or mental deficiency—more likely, it is a cognitive or behavioral disorder.

The psychiatric manual further gives four major headings under functional disorders: psychotic, psychophysiological, autonomic, psychoneurotic, and personality. On close examination, there are symptoms among both the psychotic and psychoneurotic behavioral disorders which come close to our overview of racism. These symptoms are described as distortions in the content of thinking or systematic irrationalities which take the form of persistent unwanted thoughts (obsessions), irrational and obsessive fears (phobias), or false beliefs inconsistent with one's experience and knowledge (delusions). The last group, delusions, are remarkable in their similarity to the rationalizing behaviors of the varied forms of racism. Some of these delusions are false ideas about a person or group, including the idea that it has power or potential power and control over oneself. Some are notions of persecution—that one is being punished arbitrarily by another. Still others are "delusions of grandeur"—that one is greater and more powerful than he or she actually is. Any one or combination of these delusions can produce behaviors which are attempts to categorize oneself as superior and another as inferior.

One subcategory of psychotic disorders includes delusions which are particularly well organized, systematic, and consistent with the individual's affective behavior: These are the paranoid reactions. Of all the functional disorders, paranoid psychotic reactions appear the most closely related to racism as a system of rationalization and behavior.

Of course, irrational and disordered thoughts do not in themselves produce racist behavior. There

must be some driving force behind these delusions. Some theorists hold that delusions result from fears of threat to oneself and that these threats in turn are associated with a number of hierarchically organized needs (Mischel 1968). For example, according to Maslow's need hierarchy (1967), one must satisfy a first level of needs before one can go on to the next. The first and most basic needs in Maslow's hierarchy are physiological, such as the need for food, physical warmth, and rest. The next level includes universal psychological needs related to the maintenance of a sense of security and self-esteem, such as the need for affection, companionship, and communication with others. The last and highest level is that of nonuniversal psychological motives which are socialized but not necessarily characteristic of all social striving. These are the needs for achievement, for mastery and autonomy, and for "self-actualization."

In Maslow's model, the more basic the needs pressing for satisfaction, the more intense the behavior engendered in an effort to satisfy them. Since dire poverty and hunger are not typical problems of the majority of racists, much of the motivation for racist behavior must instead come from the second level of needs—those involved with maintaining a sense of security and self-esteem (Rosen and Gregory 1966). Racists feel that they must maintain their beliefs and behaviors, no matter how irrational, in order to preserve their own self-regard, while the victims of racism must also do all they can to maintain a sense of self-esteem. The irony is that in their antagonistic relationship neither group can be emotionally secure. While their energy is expended on maintaining a sense of security in relation to the other group, neither racists nor their victims can move on to the fulfillment of higher level motivations.

Further exploration of the nature of racism as a mental health problem requires a perspective on mental illness which differs somewhat from the present American Psychiatric Association (APA) classification. What we have in the APA classification is a description of grossly disordered behaviors, since those who receive professional attention are often at the point of being totally dysfunctional. The individuals exhibiting most of the behaviors in the APA classification cannot be far from involuntary institutionalization. However, racism and the associated inability to move on to a higher level of motivation are not so dramatically incapacitating for the racist. In fact, he or she often appears quite normal except for a paranoid disorder in the area of racial relations.

Unfortunately, the more obvious impact of racism is on the victim. There may be a host of "mental illnesses" such as racism which are not obviously harmful to the actor (racist) but are devastating to the victim. Those who are experiencing few difficulties in their own social environment but who demonstrate behaviors which are psychologically destructive to others are not classified as mentally ill. Thus, only the victims emerge in the APA classification as severely dysfunctional and in need of professional care.

From the APA classification one gets the sense that very little is known systematically concerning the etiology of the various functional disorders. What is the typical history of social interactions among racists? Whatever its particular type or motivation, racist behavior is acted out in social circumstances. Our present understanding of mental health does not include a classification of mental illness as social interaction habitually resulting in dysfunctional behavior. Such a classification must include a concept of "good" mental health and hold that anything short of that standard indicates the persistence of personal and social problems (Jahoda 1958; Sells 1969; Wright 1971).

It appears that the causes of racism as a functional behavioral disorder are themselves the outcome of a long series of negative social interactions in which the racists reach a point where they cannot successfully negotiate at Maslow's level of universal motivations and resort instead to extreme coping behaviors to defend the vestiges of security and self-esteem. The APA classification must be supplemented with another classification more sensitive to differences in social interaction history and also to individual differences in the range of available coping behaviors (Weinstein 1969).

Racism and Community Mental Health

Given the shortcomings of the present understanding of racism, it is clear that mental health professionals working in community settings have a much more important role to play than was originally realized. It is not simply a matter of being more sensitive to racism as a problem of concern to white as well as black communities, but community mental health professionals, working in natural

settings rather than seeing only the self-selected or preselected individuals who typify private practice or institutional clientele, have the opportunity to study those who have no manifested pathology as well as those who do. Such study should sharpen insight into the social causes of mental illness (Giordano 1973). Through further exploratory research, community mental health can become more than an outpost of the clinical establishment; it can provide basic insight into just what constitutes mental health as well as mental illness.

A key area in which the field of community mental health should be making perceptible progress is that of mental illness among blacks. If racism is a serious mental health issue, blacks in the community are not simply clients for therapy or specimens of exotic pathologies. Faced with the same oppressive conditions, some blacks cope successfully while others do not. The number of those who do cope appears unusually large, since one of the ironies of the impact of racism is that black rates of institutionalization are only slightly higher than the rates for whites, although it would seem that they should be much higher. The present black rate may be artificially elevated in comparison to the white rate because accurate data regarding private hospitalization (primarily white) are not available (Fischer 1969). The black community offers a prime opportunity not only to combat racial victimization but also to study how and why so many blacks remain emotionally healthy.

Black Culture and Mental Health

The source of successful coping among blacks must certainly be a function of black community life; it seems unlikely that each individual could cope so well only on the basis of personal experience or of trial and error. Therefore, community mental health practitioners must become more aware of the cultural nature of the black community. Are there traits and institutions unique to the black community; and, if so, might they act as a source of coping strategies for community members?

There are, in fact, a number of distinct behaviors among Afro-Americans which have been identified by ethnographers familiar with West African cultures; these traits are called Africanisms (Herskovitz 1958), e.g., the tradition of strong personal leadership for collective efforts, distinct forms of music and dance, informal language among blacks (black English), and affectively oriented learning styles among black children.

In American society, Africanisms have been joined by new traits and behaviors generated in urban ghetto circumstances. Neither the Africanisms nor the urban-generated behaviors are easily observed as part of the formal, public behavior of the black population. Instead, they are part of the informal social life of the community and are conditionally expressed. For example, in his historical review of the use of the Gullah dialect (containing Africanisms), Turner (1949) notes that the dialect is spoken very cautiously around strangers and never at its fullest. Around friends there is dialect, and among family its use is intensified. The same phenomenon is observable in the contemporary use of black English: Around strangers one says little, speaks to the point, and usually uses standard English.

If behaviors and attitudes unique to blacks are often hidden and conditionally expressed, they also are distributed differently within the black population by region and social class. Within this population, in fact, there is a full range of white (European) acculturations, ranging from virtually none (e.g., the isolated Eastern Islanders) to nearly 100 percent (e.g., urban black New Englanders). Further complicating clear recognition of Africanisms and urban-generated attitudes among black Americans is the extent to which some of these behaviors have been adopted by whites. The most obvious examples are dance styles, popular music, and food preference and preparation.

It is absurd now to consider seriously the Moynihan and Glazer (1965) thesis that blacks have no culture or heritage to defend, Frazier's (1957) observation that Africanisms were totally wiped out with slavery, or Myrdal's (1944) position that the uniqueness of the black community is due to its pathological position (caste status) in American life. But not all Africanisms were maintained. Frazier was correct in pointing out that important African traits were wiped out during slavery and are inconsequential in contemporary black life. As Herskovitz (1958) points out, the extinguished traits related specifically to Western African technology, economic organization, and political customs.

The key to black culture in the United States, and ultimately to the basis of black coping behavior, lies in the rapid extinction of some Africanisms and the survival of others. Many

African, Indian, and later non-English immigrant customs were extinguished by opposition from a dominant English majority, thus establishing America's formal culture. Other customs of these groups, particularly those with no direct impact on the political, economic, or technical realms of the developing country, were of less concern (Herskovitz 1958). In addition, it was more difficult to extinguish world views, to change attitudes toward friends, family, and strangers, or to define other aspects of the minority groups' emotional life so that many informal behaviors and attendant values were passed on from generation to generation within the black group. Only through physical genocide or through the total assimilation of blacks and other non-English immigrants could such informal culture transmission have been prevented.

Therefore, there may be no distinction between the formal organization lives of black and white communities, while great differences are evident in their informal organization, i.e., lifestyles, expressive behavior, and world view. Blacks speak English, but some blacks also speak a black English. There are both white and black Baptist churches but few white Baptist churches which "jump."

It is possible that those blacks who have a higher predisposition to mental illness are those who experience racist behavior but receive no countering support from their community's social life. The greater the pressure (racist oppression) in one area, the greater the need for reinforcement in the other. The interpersonal relations of blacks with other blacks, as well as with whites, form an important intervening factor among variables such as educational or income level and rates of mental illness. When racism is intensified but black social life is not, the mental illness rates among blacks increase. This might be the case in the first part of an economic depression, particularly if blacks are living in a white community or otherwise isolated from black community life.

The literature on black cultural expressions (Drake and Cayton 1962; Hannerz 1969; Johnson 1943; Liebow 1967; McCord 1969) shows the researcher's confusion in dealing with informal and elusive aspects of the culture. In formal behavior blacks often resemble whites, while in informal (and usually intracommunity) behavior, they are markedly different. There is no "culture of poverty"; instead, there are people who have no choice and are coping with poverty. There is "relative deprivation," but not "cultural deprivation." There is no one without culture; there are simply those with another culture. By virtue of its poverty, the black community may contain more individuals with overt pathologies, but the community itself is not pathological. In fact, it is for most who live in it a source of strength and a place to learn to cope with a larger environment.

If white and black communities were indistinguishable, I suspect that the rates of mental illness among blacks would be higher than they are. I am inclined to locate the source of black coping strength in exactly those areas of social life where black culture is unique. The affective life of the community must encourage an interpersonal flexibility which enables its residents to cope with racist behavior. In effect, what white racism takes away from the individual, black social life may give back.

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Chapter 12

Mental Health Among Blacks: The Relevance of Self-Esteem, Commitment to Social Change, and Paradoxical Attributions

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ABSTRACT

Models of positive mental health are reviewed and assessed with respect to their applicability to blacks. A high level of self-esteem and an internal locus of control were consistently described as critical dimensions of effective functioning. These two factors, along with commitment to social change, were examined in three related studies of positive mental health in blacks. Negligible racial differences in self-esteem were observed. However, the self-evaluation of blacks appears to be more closely related to external feedback than that of whites. An internal orientation and self-esteem do appear to be related to measures of psychosocial competence in blacks and to a commitment to social change. However, the pattern of relationships is complex. Moreover, activism in blacks appears to be related to paradoxical attributions of control over self and black people in general. More active and, perhaps, more competent blacks feel personally responsible for what happens to them individually but, at the same time, see the "system" as a major determinant of what happens to black people.

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Describing a normal and psychologically healthy individual has been an elusive preoccupation of community-oriented psychologists. Supporters of the community mental health movement have pointed to the inadequacy, for that purpose, of models of human behavior which focus exclusively on aberrant behavior. Consequently, several authors have attempted to show how individuals handle normal life problems and to delineate the cognitive and behavioral processes which characterize and justify the need for an effectiveness-oriented model of coping.

For example, White (1976) describes the coping individual as one who seeks information about the environment for the purpose of assessing life situations accurately and developing appropriate strategies for solving life's problems. Behaviorally, such an individual has an organized pattern of problem-solving behavior and, at the same time, views himself as relatively unconstrained by external forces in implementing these behaviors. Jahoda (1955) provides a comprehensive model of positive mental health which has served as the basis for other models of coping. Table 1 outlines several approaches to positive mental health described in the mental health literature. These descriptions refer to the following dimensions: locus of control, self-perception, world views, behavioral style, and perceptions of the social environment.

These authors describe positive mental health in terms of an optimistic, trustful attitude toward others and a coping style that is characterized by an active, effective problem-solving style which draws upon formal and informal support networks (Kelly 1974; Caplan, in Moos and Tsu 1976; and Scott 1968). These models of positive mental health concur in their emphasis on the importance of (a) a favorable self-perception; (b) an internal locus of control; (c) a moderate degree of interpersonal trust; and (d) an active mastery-oriented coping style.

However, with few exceptions, these characterizations of effective coping have been based primarily on intuitive or clinical data without experimentally derived evidence. Departing from this trend, Tyler (1978) has reported a systematic research program intended to derive empirically the characteristics generally indicative of competent functioning. He has generated a personality configuration, similar to models described above, that is composed of three related dimensions: self-attitudes, world view, and behavioral styles. These dimensions relate to locus of control, interpersonal trust, and behavioral attributes of psychosocial

Table 1. Models of positive mental health

Source	Dimensions of Positive Mental Health Model				
	Locus of control	Self-perception	World views	Behavioral style	Perceptions of social environment
Caplan (1976)	High on self-efficacy	Able to express both positive and negative feelings; self-confident	Trustful and optimistic	Flexible, problem-solving approach; seeks out help when needed	Views environment as supportive
White (1976)		High self-esteem, autonomous, relatively independent of external influence		Active, orderly, organized efforts to solve problems (intrinsic mastery)	Acts independently of environmental influence
Tyler (1978)	Relatively internal on personal control	High self-esteem; favorable opinions of self	Moderate levels of trust	Active, planful, persistent problem-solving style	
Wilcox (1973)	Internal personal control; external with respect to powerful others and systems	High self-esteem; high on black cultural identity	Low trust, high sensitivity to racism, capitalism, materialism, and one's own oppression	Actively involved in mastering and shaping one's environment	Views environment as hostile, negative, and threatening
Comer and Thomas (1973)		Positive self-evaluation with the context of one's racial group and the society in which one lives	Strong positive identification with one's ethnic or cultural group	Actively cope through one's everyday endeavors and to engage willingly one's environment	View environment at one of two extremes: either providing safety and "the good life" or failing to meet basic needs
Jahoda (1955)		High self-esteem, self-actualization	High on trust of others	Active, coping mastery responses to stress, full realization of one's potential environmental mastery	Acts independently of social influence, perceives reality accurately

competence. The results of the research program consistently point out that persons who cope effectively can be distinguished from those who do not by a tendency to evaluate self and behavior as worthwhile, to be moderately trustful of others, and to attribute the effects of life events to one's self. Moreover, the effective individual possesses an active, planful style in setting and pursuing goals. Thus, competence might be summarized as a configuration of self-efficacy, interpersonal trust, and a relatively active, planned coping style. However, Evans and Tyler (1976) and Tyler and Gatz (1976) note patterns in the personality configuration of effective black community workers and black adolescents in the recently desegregated school systems that differ from patterns of their white counterparts. They suggest that the life situations of nonwhites may result in somewhat different styles of coping. Thus psycho-social competence may be organized somewhat differently for blacks and other minorities than it is for whites. For that reason it seemed important to raise questions regarding the applicability of these models of mental health to all people across diverse settings. Ecological theories of human functioning posit that behavior is intimately linked to the specific life

situations and environmental conditions out of which the behavior develops (Moos 1976). It will be argued that, although the dimensions of coping described above may serve as a generally useful index of effective functioning, it is possible that they operate differently across racial groups, that is, that they vary with the diverse sets of environmental stresses that the individual or group may face. Specifically, an attempt will be made to apply this analysis to coping styles of blacks.

The environmental context assumes an important role in the development of adaptive or health-related behavior. In support of this position, Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend (1969) examine data suggesting a relationship between social status, resource availability, and the severity of individual psychological disorganization. Thus, the poor, especially people of color who fall disproportionately among the lower socioeconomic classes, encounter more frequently the stresses of community life that may lead to psychological dysfunction. Barbarin, Mitchell, and Hurley (1978) have shown that environmental stress encountered by predominantly black and predominantly white communities differ both in quality and quantity. Although blacks view their community and their people in a positive manner, they also experience their community as having significantly more pressing problems with respect to physical environment, services, and interpersonal climate than do white communities. On the basis of these findings, it is possible to argue that a somewhat different combination of coping styles may be required by blacks and whites to deal with their respective life situations. Each component of competence develops within a sociocultural context that provides the most exacting measure of its suitability. Thus, it is likely that no single competence configuration is equally applicable across different social, cultural, or racial environments. Different combinations of behavior and attitudes may be required for effective adaptation by whites in a predominantly white environment than may be suitable for American Indians, Asians, blacks, or Latinos who must negotiate predominantly white living situations as well as their own communities.

For this reason, alternative models of coping have been proposed for application to the life circumstances of blacks. These models have used similar dimensions to delineate behavior, attitudes, and cognitive processes which are relevant to successful coping by blacks. For example, Thomas and Comer (1973) developed a model of positive mental health for blacks which emphasizes a sense of worth as a black within society as a whole. Wilcox (1973) offers a more detailed model which emphasizes the oppressive conditions under which most blacks live. The Wilcox model assumes that effective coping is largely determined by the ability of nonwhites to develop positive response styles to institutional racism and its byproducts. Response styles indicative of coping include: (1) awareness of hostility generally directed toward blacks; (2) perception of self as an effective agent in one's own life; (3) a self-identity that is based on a Third-World cultural heritage; and (4) a profound sense of dignity and self-esteem. Behaviorally, coping includes efforts to be involved in shaping and controlling one's own destiny. Thus, Wilcox (1973) describes effective functioning as consisting of the recognition and sensitivity to racism as it exists in society, a sense of self-efficacy, a high level of self-esteem that is linked to one's cultural identity, and an active behavioral style which leads to involvement in efforts to shape or to control one's social and physical environments and, thus, collectively improve the life condition of blacks. The importance to black coping styles of this active involvement is supported by Jones (1973) in a review of the research in this area. He concludes that blacks who make demands of the system are psychologically healthier than those who acclimate passively to racism. Moreover, those who develop a keen awareness of racism tend to be more actively involved in change efforts. On the basis of limited data, we propose that the focal dimensions of coping styles among blacks include (a) an accurate perception of the realities of racism; (b) a sense of self-efficacy; (c) a commitment to influence positively the life condition of blacks as a group; and (d) the ability to experience a sense of worth. Although these dimensions appear remarkably consistent with previously described models of coping, it is not clear from existing research that these have the same meaning or interact with each other in exactly the same manner for blacks as they do for whites.

Invariably, descriptions of mental health assign a central role to favorable self-evaluation. A major obstacle to the inclusion of self-esteem in models of coping for blacks is the controversy surrounding their level of self-esteem. Historically, there has been disagreement about the adequacy of self-evaluation in blacks. For example, Kardiner and

Ovesey (1951) depicted blacks as having lower levels of self-esteem than whites. Similarly, Clark and Clark (1947) proposed that blacks are plagued by low self-esteem, self-rejection, and a desire to be white. Those who espouse the "negative self-concept" position theorize that low self-esteem is a function of the feedback received from others. These researchers argue that blacks who internalize the negative attitudes of the larger society develop a relatively unfavorable self-appraisal. However, these assertions have been seriously challenged by recent investigators (Banks 1976) who argue that no case can be made for differences in self-evaluation on the basis of current or past data. Clarification of this controversy is important for several reasons. If racial differences in self-esteem do exist, the level of self-esteem may have a different relationship to other indices of mental health than it does for whites. For that reason, the maintenance of even mildly favorable self-appraisal on the part of blacks, in spite of the negative feedback, is a mark of a high level of coping. If overall differences fail to materialize, there is little basis for assuming that self-evaluation should not be adopted as an index of functioning in blacks as well, thus supporting the model of mental health proposed by Thomas and Comer (1973).

An additional facet of coping behavior in blacks is the extent of involvement in efforts to improve their life condition. Wilcox (1973) argued that maintenance of positive mental health is linked to an awareness of the pernicious effects of racism and a resultant commitment of one's energies to reducing the economic, social, or political inequities that affect the lives of black people.

Although there is agreement about the importance of an active, involved style for coping, it is not clear how such a style is nurtured and developed in the lives of blacks. A clue to its development may be found in the research on locus of control (Rotter 1966). Locus of control refers to attributions regarding the causes of events in one's life to one's own efforts or to some external source. Internality is a characteristic of one who believes that he/she is a central determinant of what happens in life and will act to shape or influence his/her environment. Conversely, externality is said to be a characteristic of one who is likely to view others as responsible for the events or outcomes in life. An external locus of control is considered to be related to an acquiescent stance toward life. It is possible that internal-external orientation (I-E) mediates the development of involvement in change efforts so that individuals who feel they can exert influence over their lives may be more committed to involvement in change. Gore and Rotter (1963) found that I-E was related to the willingness of black students to participate in Civil Rights activities. If this relationship is sustained over time, one would expect that active committed blacks would be more internal than inactive blacks. Most investigations comparing locus of control among blacks and whites found blacks to be more external than whites (Battle and Rotter 1963; Valecha and Ostrum 1974). It is often argued that discrimination and institutional racism make external attributions realistic and adaptive for blacks. However, such a position leaves one unable to relate the behavior of those who are actively involved in mastering their environment to the attributions about control. In developing a model of mental health, it would be useful to determine whether locus of control bears the same relationship to coping behavior of blacks that it does for whites. Available data (Gore and Rotter 1963) suggest that blacks who are more involved and active in shaping their environment feel that they have personal control over their lives. Effective coping involves a realistic perception of the limited control that blacks, as a group, have over their lives and that this more realistic perception might, in fact, act as a catalyst leading to a commitment to change. To clarify this dilemma, Mirels (1970) and Gurin et al. (1969) argued that locus of control has two dimensions, personal control and control ideology (namely, belief about the degree of control people, in general, exercise over their lives). This distinction led others (Van Slaumbrock 1972; Levenson 1973) to develop locus of control scales that examine separately different dimensions of control, such as personal control, control by systems or powerful others, and chance or fate control. Since these factors operate somewhat independently, one may argue that activism among blacks is related to a sense of personal control and to an accurate perception of the control exercised by powerful others over one's life. With these distinctions in mind, it is expected that active and competent blacks are external with respect to powerful others and simultaneously internal with respect to personal control.

In summary, given the life situation of blacks, it is not evident that self-esteem and locus of control are related to other indices of coping in the same manner as they may be for whites. For that reason, three especially critical dimensions, self-

evaluation, commitment to social change, and locus of control, have been selected for scrutiny with respect to the relationship they bear to each other and to mental health among blacks generally. On the issue of the quality and development of self-evaluation, this paper discusses how the level of self-esteem among blacks is related to the environmental setting and how self-esteem is empirically related to commitment to social change and other indices of the coping behavior of blacks. Moreover, it examines how locus of control is related to social-change efforts among blacks and how to integrate these dimensions into a descriptive model of coping among blacks.

Study I

The following study examines the extent to which racial differences in self-evaluation occur. Two distinct procedures are employed simultaneously: a reasonably valid paper-and-pencil test and an experimental analog in which individuals are asked to evaluate their performance before, during, and after explicit evaluative feedback. The paper-and-pencil task measures global self-assessment style. The measure is behavioral and is designed to examine the effect of external feedback on self-evaluation. Participants in this study were 40 black and 40 white college students. One black male and one white male, experienced in conducting research, administered the individual aspects of the procedure. In addition, three black female experimenters monitored the group procedures, i.e., completion of questionnaires and the debriefing of participants.

Procedure. Participants completed the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, a demographic data questionnaire, and a 10-point rating of their ability to memorize. Subsequently, students were randomly assigned to either a positive or a negative feedback group and to either the black or white experimenter, using a stratified random sampling procedure. After spending a few minutes to become acquainted with participants, the experimenters explained the purpose of the research as an effort to refine items on an intellectual performance test. Participants were informed that they would be paid on the basis of their performance.

Memory Test. Participants were given three blocks of trials consisting of five memory items each. Three of the items were drawn directly from the Weschler Memory Scale (logical memory, word association, and digit span). The fourth item required subjects to look at a picture and, after 5 seconds, to name as many items as they could recall. For the fifth item, participants were given a letter of the alphabet and asked to name as many words as they could that begin with that letter. In the first block of five trials (baseline), participants were asked to estimate their performance after each item but were not given feedback. In the second block of five trials (feedback trials), as the participants were responding, they were given indirect, sometimes nonverbal (i.e., shrugs, frowns, smiles, praise) positive or negative feedback. After completion of the task, they were asked to provide an evaluation of their own performance. In the final block of trials (postfeedback trials) the procedure was the same as in the baseline trials, that is, no feedback was given.

Post-Experimental Questionnaire. After concluding these memory items, participants returned to the group room, estimated their ability to memorize, and detailed their emotional reactions to the experiment. To test for the effectiveness of the manipulations, participants were asked to indicate the purpose of the experiment, the extent to which the quality of performance was representative of their ability, in general, and their attributions regarding success or failure on the task. Finally, using a semantic differential format, they rated the male experimenter on qualities that related to truthfulness, fairness, and likeability. After participants completed the post-experimental questionnaire, they were paid on the basis of their self-ratings (range = .00 - $3.00) and debriefed.

Results. A two-way analysis of variance (Race X Feedback) produced no significant differences among the experimental groups on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) for race, $F(1, 73) = .49$, or feedback $F(1, 73) = 1.5$, p = n.s., nor were there significant differences on pre-ratings of ability to memorize. Analysis of covariance was performed on post-experimental ratings of memory using pre-experimental ratings as a covariant. There was a significant Race X Feedback interaction—blacks altered their self-evaluation in response to feedback to a significantly greater extent than did whites, $F(1, 73) = 1.14$, p .05. Under the negative feedback condition, blacks decreased their self-evaluation more than whites (+ .8 vs. + .1) (see figure 1 and tables 2 and 3). In addition, there were unpredicted significant Race X Sex, $F(1, 72) = 11.39$, $p = .001$ and Sex X Feedback interactions

$F(1, 72) = 4.11$, $p = .05$. An inspection of the means for each group (see table 2) suggests that black males shifted more than black females, with the opposite being true for whites. In addition, females shifted self-evaluation more in the positive feedback conditions, and males did so more under the negative condition (see tables 3 and 4).

Discussion. The above findings provide little support for the belief that global self-evaluation, by itself, functions differently for blacks and for whites. The failure to find differences along racial lines leaves open the possibility that self-evaluation may play a central role in the coping styles of blacks as it does in the case of whites. On the other hand, the effect of the external feedback does vary with race and sex, with blacks responding more dramatically than whites to feedback, positive or negative. Interestingly, white female reactions to feedback were more similar to black males than to those of white males. Although there were no differences in global self-evaluation, blacks altered their self-evaluations more than whites did. This finding suggests that blacks may rely more on cues from the social environment than whites do. All individuals experience moment-to-moment fluctuations in self-esteem revolving around some mean level of self-evaluation. Although there may be no overall racial differences in self-esteem, there may exist differences in the range or the moment-to-moment variations in self-evaluation. Thus, blacks and whites may have generally high self-esteem, but the self-esteem of blacks may experience relatively more extreme positive and negative swings. An alernative explanation for the differences in respondents to external evaluation is that blacks may experience greater vulnerability to situational factors than whites do. Consequently, survival and coping require greater attention to environmental feedback. Although additional data are required to rule out alternative explanations, one might speculate that, for those blacks in a capricious and changing social environment, the ability to shift one's view of self in accordance with social expectations may be an adaptive strategy. In summary, it is likely that levels of self-esteem do not differ across racial groups, even though the process by which self-esteem is maintained may vary. These findings suggest that it would not be inappropriate to include self-esteem as a central dimension in a model of coping for blacks.

Table 2. Mean standard scores on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale for black and white subjects

Variable	Black		White	
	Male[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Female[a]
Self-Criticism				
Mean	44.1	44.8	40.0	45.0
Standard deviation	8.0	14.3	14.4	6.6
Self-Concept				
Mean	41.6	45.3	43.5	37.3
Standard deviation	15.1	17.2	15.3	10.7
Identity				
Mean	33.9	38.6	38.0	30.7

[a]N = 20

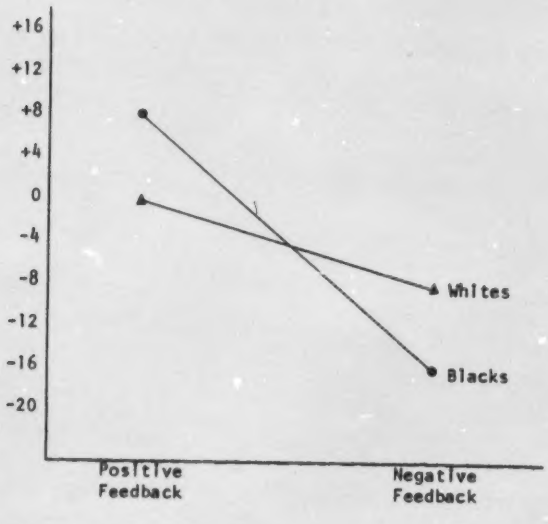

Figure 1. Self-evaluation changes in response to positive and negative feedback.

Study II

This study uses cognitive attributes of commitment to determine the strength of the hypothesized relationship between involvement and other measures of mental health, such as self-esteem and psychosocial competence. The Black Power Ideology Scale (Lessing and Zagorin 1970) was developed to assess ideological and cognitive sets which predispose individuals to involvement in socio-political and economic change efforts common in the 1960s. This explanatory study was designed to assess the relationship between indices

Table 3. Mean pre- and post-experimental rating of ability to memorize

	Positive				Negative			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Male[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Female[a]	Male[a]	Female[a]
Pre	6.8	6.0	7.0	6.1	6.3	6.0	6.1	6.2
Post	6.9	7.3	7.5	5.6	3.4	5.4	5.7	5.0
Pre-post change	+.1	+1.3	+.5	−.5	−2.9	−.6	−.4	−1.2

[a]N = 10

Table 4. Post-experimental rating of memory with pre-experimental rating as a covariate

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	67.19	.257
Sex (B)	1	38.07	.146
Feedback (C)	1	7113.29	27.25**
AB	1	2973.86	11.39**
AC	1	1081.88	4.14*
BC	1	1072.964	4.11*
ABC	1	9.767	.04
Regression	1	28.81	.11
Within	72	261.07	

*$p < .05$
**$p < .001$

of mental health (self-esteem and psychosocial competence) and commitment at a cognitive level to improvement of the life situation of blacks and to the means required to achieve that goal. In effect, this study tests an assumption of the Wilcox (1973) and the Thomas and Comer (1973) models that commitment to social change is related to indices of effective functioning in blacks, such as self-esteem and psychosocial competence. If the assumption is true, it is expected that scores on the Black Power Ideology Scales (BPIS) will correlate with indices of effective functioning such as the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS), and the Behavioral Attributes of Psychosocial Competence Scale (BAPC) (Tyler 1978). Further, it is expected that individuals with a high commitment to social change will evidence a different pattern of relationships between subscales of BPIS and indices of coping different from those low in commitment to social change.

Method. Eighty-one black pre-college adolescents were asked to complete the TSCS, the BAPC, and the BPIS. The BPIS yields a total score and five subscales (Black Culture and Identity, Political-Economic Focus, Militancy, Group Solidarity, and Separatism). Participants were designated as high or low in commitment to social change, on the basis of their total scores on the BPIS. The high-change group scored one-half standard deviation or more above the mean, while the low-change group consisted of those who scored one-half standard deviation below the mean or lower. The high-low dimension was used as the independent variable in several analyses.

Results. The subscale scores for the high-, middle-, and low-change groups on each of the measures are presented in table 5. Although the differences found between the high and low groups on the TSCS, the BAPC, or on the subscales on the BPIS were all in the predicted direction, they did not attain significance. In order to determine whether there is a relationship between competence (BAPC) and involvement, as hypothesized by Wilcox (1973), separate correlation matrices were generated for the high- and low-change groups. Using the score on the BAPC as the index of psychosocial functioning, a correlation table was developed between scores on the BAPC and the subscales of the BPIS. For the high-change group, the BPIS subscales that best correlate with psychosocial competence are Black Culture and Identity (Pearson r = .40) and Group Solidarity (Pearson r = .34). Negative correlations were found with Political Economic Focus (r = −.41), Militance (r = −.31), and Separation (r = −.11) for this same group. A different pattern of correlations emerged in the case of the low-change group (see table 6). Specifically, psychosocial competence correlated best with a Political-Economic Focus (r = .31), Militance (r = .23), and Self-esteem (r = .55). Small negative correlations were obtained with Separatism (r = −.26), Black Culture

Table 5. Mean score on BPIS, BAPC, and TSCS espousal of black power ideology

Measure	High (N = 19)	Middle (N = 40)	Low (N = 22)
Black power ideology scales			
Total	141.0	120.7	107.0
Black culture	39.6	34.8	30.1
Political-economic	38.6	31.4	26.9
Militancy	17.3	14.8	12.3
Group solidarity	20.6	17.3	17.4
Separatism	25.0	22.5	20.3
Self-concept	356.6	345.6	344.4
Psychosocial competence	35.4	31.9	22.5

Table 6. Correlation of BAPC with BPIS subscales and self-esteem for high and low change groups

Measures	High change	Low change
Black culture and identity	.40	−.07
Political economic focus	−.41	.31
Militance	−.26	.23
Group solidarity	.34	−.03
Separatism	−.11	−.26
Self-esteem	.20	.55

and Identity ($r = -.07$), and Group Solidarity ($r = -.03$). It is interesting to note that a Political Economic Focus correlates negatively (−.41) with competence in the high-change group but positively in the low-change group.

Discussion. Although high- and low-change groups did not differ significantly on either self-esteem or competence, BPIS subscales do correlate positively with self-esteem and competence. The manner in which these two measures of adaptation are related to involvement in the black movement is more complex than predicted by either Wilcox (1973) or Thomas and Comer (1973). Both levels of commitment to change are related to competent functioning but in very different ways. Two distinct patterns of relationship emerge. On the basis of these correlational patterns, we describe two models which differ with respect to the dimensions of commitment to social change that are best associated with indices of effective functioning (see tables 7 and 8).

The first pattern (Model 1) describes the high group for whom competence correlates positively with a black identity and an inclination toward group solidarity or cohesiveness, but negatively with militancy or political-economic involvement. Separatism seems unrelated to competent functioning for this group. This pattern suggests that, of those who fall in the high group, the more competent tend to emphasize black culture and identity and collaboration on change efforts. Moreover, they tend to deemphasize political-economic means or the adoption of a militant stance to accomplish their goals. One might characterize this pattern as similar to those with cultural nationalist philosophies. A major goal is the reeducation and consciousness raising of black people toward the greater acceptance of their identity as an African people and an appreciation of their African heritage. An important means to this end is an emphasis on the bond that exists among African people throughout the world. Relatively little emphasis is given by this group to involvement or assimilation into current political and economic arrangements. On the other hand, for the low-change group, competence correlates possitively with a political-economic orientation and militancy, but negatively correlates with separatism. In addition, individuals in this group evidence a much stronger relationship between competence and self-esteem than the high BPIS group. Thus, competence in the low group is more strongly related to an emphasis on political and economic goals and the adoption of a militant aggressive stance to achieve these goals. It is negatively related to separatism from the current social, political, and economic arrangements. At the risk of oversimplifying these findings, examples of Model II are members of the NAACP, Urban League, or other civil rights organizations. The more competent members of this group will be those who tend to emphasize the importance of changes in the current political-economic arena and who do so in an assertive, militant fashion. The data supporting these models are meager, but they do provide a starting point for further investigation. It is likely that there are many models for describing black coping styles. These models provide an organizing framework which incorporates several of the widely accepted dimensions of competent functioning but includes involvement in or commitment to social change as an essential dimension of mental health among blacks.

Table 7. Models of competent functioning for blacks at two different levels of black ideology (Using r .23 as cutting point)

Group	Black culture and identity	Group solidarity	Political-economic focus	Militance	Separatism	Self-Esteem
MODEL I High BPIS Pan-African Nationalist	positive	positive	negative	negative		
MODEL II Low BPIS Member, NAACP or Urban League			positive	positive	negative	positive

Table 8. Two proposed models of competent functioning for blacks

Model I	Model II
Emphasis on group identity and group control	Self-identity, individualism relatively more important than group identity
Focus of change—black people's perception of self as an African people; raising black consciousness	Focus of change—political and economic domain; works for increased black control of financial and political resources of its community
Activities—education, political, historical and cultural enlightenment	Activities—voting, taking part in the established business and political processes to achieve greater power for self and in some instances for black people as a whole
Possesses a sense of personal competence and effectiveness; derives satisfaction from the progress and achievements of the black community as a whole	Sense of effectiveness and competence is based on one's own accomplishments or failure

Study III

Defining involvement or commitment to change as political activism, this study examines the extent to which, and the manner in which, locus of control is predictive of activism in blacks.

Method. Participants in the study were 81 black, undergraduate students in a predominantly white university, 41 of whom were selected because they were active, productive members of the campus black student organization. The remaining 40 were relatively inactive members of that same organization. All participants completed (1) the Rotter I-E, (2) the Van Slaumbrock System Control Scale, (3) the Levenson Personal Control Scale, and (4) the Kujichagulia Scale. As a check on the level of activity across the active and inactive groups, the Kerpelman-Weiner Activity Scale, a measure of actual political activity, was administered to all volunteers.

Results. The selection criteria for categorizing students as active or inactive were shown to have some validity in that the two groups differed significantly on the Kerpelman-Weiner Measure of Political Activity (Kerpelman 1972), $F(1,79) = 4.78$, $p = .05$. The high group (i.e., the active political group) reported significantly more activities than the low group (i.e., the inactive political group) on this measure (250 vs. 125). To test the degree of relationship between political activism and locus of control, a multiple regression was performed on the data, using scores on the Kerpelman-Weiner as a criterion and measures of the scores of the Levenson and Van Slaumbrock I-E scales as predictors. The best predictors of political activism in blacks turned out to be the Levenson Personal Control Scale and the Van Slaumbrock System Control Scale. Individuals who were more active politically tended to be high on personal control and simultaneously high on the belief that powerful others or systems generally control their lives. In addition, chance control appears to have a negative correlation with political activism.

Discussion. The major findings regarding a relationship between locus of control and activism is

the "paradoxical attribution." It appears that the somewhat contradictory combination of internality, with respect to personal control, and externality, with respect to control exercised by powerful others, is the best predictor of political activism. In most instances, externality is thought to have a depressing effect on behavior, that is, leading an individual to more passive and acquiescent response patterns, but, in this instance, it appears that externality may have an energizing impact. For whites, a sense of personal control may be sufficient as a cognitive base for an effective, active, problem-solving style. For blacks, the realities of discrimination may require more than a sense of self-efficacy. For blacks who are uniformly internal, that is, feel that they possess substantial control over what happens in their lives, there may be a lack of appreciation for how the world actually operates with respect to blacks generally. Perhaps, when this sense of personal control is combined paradoxically with the sense that powerful others exercise control over one's life, one becomes committed to social change. This "paradoxical effect" appears to be an important phenomenon for blacks to cope effectively, as if the realization that powerful others exercise control over one's life motivates countercontrol. Moreover, this effort is more likely to take place when an individual believes that the world is orderly and that events do not simply happen by chance but are determined by oneself or by external agents.

Conclusion. Positive mental health for blacks is theoretically consistent with more generally applied models of coping but, at the same time, is reflective of the life situation of blacks. We have reviewed two widely used dimensions, self-esteem and locus of control, to assess how they apply to coping among blacks. In addition, we have reviewed data on a third dimension, proposed by others (Wilcox 1973; Thomas and Comer, 1973), as especially relevant to mental health among blacks.

Study I shows results supportive of recent investigations which failed to find differences in global self-evaluation between blacks and whites, leaving open the possibility that self-esteem may have the same relationship to coping suggested for other groups. However, blacks were found to be more responsive than whites to environmental feedback about performance. Thus, the environmental context may have a more pronounced effect in shaping the self-esteem of blacks than of whites. Study II provides data which support the relationship between self-esteem and psychosocial competence. It points to two patterns of involvement in social change related to the two measures of coping among blacks.

Study III shows that locus of control, as a dimension of positive mental health, may operate differently for blacks; it appears to have two relevant dimensions, personal control and control by powerful others. Active coping among blacks seems to be related to a paradoxical set of attributes so that more competent blacks tend to be high in personal control and simultaneously high in the belief that powerful others control their lives. Although a high degree of personal control alone may be related to competence among whites, both attributes seem to be involved in effective functioning among blacks.

On the basis of the above studies, several interesting propositions about the development of a subset of coping behaviors in blacks might be made. Paradoxical attributions, commitment to social change, and self-esteem may be related to each other in a cyclical fashion:(see figure 2).

Phase I		**Phase II**		**Phase III**
Paradoxical Attributions	→	Commitment to Change	→	Self-Esteem

Figure 2. Mental health process among blacks.

Paradoxical attributions may set the stage for involvement in social change efforts. This cycle may result from the realization that, although one has a degree of control over one's life, social systems may also influence one's life. For those who consider themselves self-determined, the specter of external tyranny may elicit countercontrol behaviors. This countercontrol may come in the form of organized activity to bring about social change. Commitment to change may, in turn, reinforce the perception of self as a self-determining and effective individual. When these efforts are successful and produce an improved quality of life, an important byproduct is enhancement of self-image and increased self-esteem. These events form a cycle in that a favorable self-evaluation further heightens the paradox of personal control in the face of control by powerful others.

The evidence presented here regarding effective coping styles for blacks is by no means definitive. It provides a set of working hypotheses about the coping process of blacks and how it develops. Subsequent work might focus on the development of externally observable criteria of coping by which to validate these or alternative models.

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Chapter 13

Attributing Race From News-Reported Crime

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the question of whether readers of journalistic crime reports make assumptions about the racial identity of a criminal from news accounts devoid of explicit race reference. Crime reports were used as stimulus stories which were experimentally varied on the factors of urbanicity of crime location (urban vs. suburban), ethnicity of crime location (white vs. nonwhite), and type of crime (violent vs. nonviolent). These factors were employed in a 2 x 2 x 2 repeated-measures design, fielded in questionnaire form as a survey experiment on a probability sample of adults in the Detroit metropolitan area. A total of 389 respondents comprised the sample. Results indicated that (1) urbanicity and ethnicity treatments interact to produce high levels of black criminal race attribution in all locations except the suburban/white area; (2) crime type had the most potent effect, resulting in a clear pattern of black attribution for violent crimes and white attribution for nonviolent crimes; and (3) white respondents generally made more black criminal race attributions than did black respondents.

Perceptions of Crime

Surveys and opinion polls of public perceptions of crime consistently report an increasing trend in the level of expressed concern and fear of crime. Generally, different segments of society view the crime problem in various ways. Women and blacks tend to express very high levels of anxiety about crime, as do the elderly. On the other hand, the young and more educated, while concerned about crime, are not particularly fearful.

Conklin (1975) and Furstenberg (1971) suggest that a distinction between "fear" and "concern" be drawn regarding crime. The concept of fear is more closely associated with a perceived risk of victimization in one's immediate environment. The emphasis is on the presence of a clear threat to personal safety either in one's home or close surroundings. On the other hand, concern about crime identifies the problem as a social issue, conceivably of major significance, but less personal and intimate.

From this perspective, reports on differential levels of anxiety associated with crime for different demographic groups may not have the same significance. The degree of anxiety expressed by inner city blacks and suburban whites is likely to differ in quality. For the resident of a community with a high victimization rate, anxiety may more clearly reflect an immediate concern for personal safety (i.e., fear). For the individual residing in a less victimized area, anxiety may be more akin to a generalized concern or worry about the social order (Conklin 1971).

A well-known examination of attitudes toward crime and incidence of victimization is the National Crime Survey (NCS) conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This survey collected victimization data for citizens and businesses at the national level and within several select cities.

One of the most consistent findings of the survey in 1975 was that perhaps as many as half of all victimization experiences are not reported to the police (Skogan 1976). This finding contributed to growing concern over the determinants of victimization reporting as related to police data on crime and of victimization experience recall as related to retrospective survey-generated data.

To what extent is one's capacity to recall a victimization experience affected by the passage of time, characteristics of the crime, or, possibly, characteristics of the perpetrator? These important questions challenge survey-generated data on victimization by suggesting that uncontrolled subjective factors in a respondent's report may seriously undermine the validity of the data. When coupled with the known methodological and statistical

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drawbacks associated with differential reliabilities for various types of crimes, the integrity of such data is further suspect (Skogan 1975).

The subject of qualitative distinctions of criminality in respondents and the role of a mediating entity in qualifying, encoding, and retrieving information about victimization and crime in general is important. What strategy does a respondent employ in processing relevant information at the time of providing an answer to a specific victimization question? More important, what representational scheme exists which assists the respondent in his or her everyday lifestyle with respect to criminality?

Cognitive Schema

Inasmuch as this representation is likely to be mental, it seems fruitful to engage the concept of cognitive schema in examining perceptions of crime. Schemas can generally be thought of as subjective networks for information integration which enable an individual to arrive at appropriate responses in situations of relative ambiguity.

These networks are constructed on direct social encounters, vicarious experiences, and cultural or social beliefs. They are categorizations and generalizations made from typically restricted information sources. Several analogs to schema appear in the literature as cognitive scripts, mental maps, and frames, all outgrowths of the more general hypothesis testing notions of Bruner and Postman (1949) and the organizational concept of Bartlett (1932). They all share the underlying perspective of a rational scientific humanity. As such, mental processes like schemas provide for the application of covert theories about causality, motivation, and social relationships. With respect to schemas of criminality, cognitive maps have been postulated as mechanisms for constructing mental road maps which delineate geographic locations and associated characteristics relevant to victimization avoidance (Downs and Stea 1974; Gould and White 1974).

It is appropriate, then, to engage the concept of schema in examining cognitive representations of characteristics of potential criminals. With the use of cognitive schemas, these judgments can be made with varying degrees of accuracy and success.

Accuracy refers to the relative utility of pursuing a course of action or structuring a belief system prescribed by a relevant schema which does not reflect objective realities. One example is what Biderman (1967) calls "opportunity costs" associated with activities that are sacrificed as a result of unrealistic projection of risk. Similarly, the large number of metropolitan area suburbanites who forego the social and cultural offerings of a central city area may also be incurring costs of an inaccurate belief system.

As a total entity, schemas provide direction and guidance from a premise of encoded and stored rules of representativeness. They select dimensions of experience which are most congruent with the cognitive structure. At times, this procedure may ignore some relevant factors, such as reliability of data or prior probabilities, and thus result in an "inaccuracy," as previously discussed (Kahnemen and Tversky 1973).

What, then, is the impact of such a structure relative to perceptions of crime and beliefs about features of criminality? Given the extent of public concern, there is a need for at least a rudimentary cognitive construction of the criminality dimension in one's life. Most citizens have never been victims of crimes of any major consequence, particularly of violence. Statistical summations of criminal incidence, to the extent that they only partially describe such activity, have consistently chronicled a much greater frequency of property crimes than crimes against persons (Skogan 1976). While incidents of violent victimization have risen, so have those of property loss.

Consequently, our range of personal victimization falls short of supplying sound firsthand knowledge of criminal characteristics or behavior. Such a schema of criminality most often exists as a mediated reality derived from accounts among one's social referents. To the extent that the direct experiences of referents are similarly limited, the role of mass media may become more significant.

Until recently, very little was known about the development of such schemas relative to mass-mediated message systems. The pioneering work on TV's dramatic images by George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communication is the most recent study of how mass media influence both societal awareness and immersion in generalized violence. Gerbner and Gross (1976) offer, as evidence of television's "cultivating" effect, results of a study in which heavy TV viewers were found to express a greater sense of danger and mistrust than light TV viewers. Generally, these heavy viewers

tended to overestimate the relative proportion of law enforcement personnel in our society, to be less trustful of others, and to exaggerate their own chances of potential violent victimization.

Of particular importance is an earlier unpublished study by the same authors in which a group of children (age 8-10 years) were asked to select from a biracial set of photographs all those persons whom they believed might be murderers. The children were to make their choices relative to the pictured individual's "murderousness" in real life, and as if each was a TV character. The response demonstrated a strong bias toward perceived black male violence in both "real life" and "on television." Whereas black males were perceived primarily as murderers in both situations, white males were viewed about equally likely to be murderers as victims in real life and on TV.

Gerbner and Gross suggest that the social interactions symbolized in TV drama foster a secondary reality which is at times divergent from observable truth. Moreover, they point to the possible role of televised violence in heightening societal fear of victimization and theorize that, while televised aggression may serve to instigate aggressiveness in some viewers, the greater effect may be acculturation to a world filled with crime and violence.

If this analysis is correct, then how does heightened anxiety over victimization translate into private functional schemas about crime? Where do most people get "real data" on community criminal activity? The answer is news media, i.e., newspapers and local TV and radio news, which systematically and repeatedly chronicle a daily log of homicides, assaults, rapes, and other unsavory happenings. An accounting of how closely the *presentation* of criminal activity matches the *actual* character of criminal activity must be made of both the journalism and TV industries.

There is evidence that local TV news managers in metropolitan areas tend to highlight inner-city violent crime in their reports (Abbott and Calonico 1974; Inter-Faith Center for Racial Justice 1974; Knopf 1970; Singer 1973). Generally, this emphasis produces a reporting pattern in which nonwhite violent urban crime overshadows suburban incidents of a similar nature. This must have an effect on a viewer's beliefs about crime and criminality in his/her environment.

The influence of racial cues in news stories on criminal behavior has serious policy implications. Less than a decade ago, direct racial identification of nonwhite criminals was common practice in all forms of journalism. A viewer could usually assume the criminal to be white if not otherwise specified. This tendency to associate nonwhite individuals with crime heightened existing racist attitudes and was in part responsible for exacerbating racial tensions, according to the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968). Since then, the journalism industry has moved to eliminate the practice.

It is questionable whether the media's less frequent use of direct verbal identification has seriously undercut the "making" of racial inferences, but TV, for example, may be providing the same identification cues through visual rather than verbal content. Specific demographic information in a news account may lead to relatively facile racial inference—the alleged criminal's occupation, place of residence, previous criminal record, and name. But it is rare that all these data would be given in a report of a criminal incident. Availability of such information, along with editorial decisions, determines the content of the account. Most news reports, however, include at least the type of crime and its location. If a report contained only this minimal information, would individuals still make racial inferences?

The purpose of the study, then, was to explore schemas of criminality, with particular attention to race, by providing a nonspecific social stimulus in a form sufficiently realistic but insufficiently informative. In operational terms, the study examines an individual's ability and facility to make racial attributions from simulated newspaper crime reports which do not refer to the antagonist's race or ethnicity.

Method

Questionnaire. The questionnaire was self-administered and consisted of several sections, only one of which was used for this study. It contained four simulated news stories presented in a randomly fixed order of embezzlement, homicide, mail fraud, and assault. Following each story were questions which sought respondent inferences on characteristics of the criminal mentioned in the story—the criminal's age, education, race, and first-offender status. Race was the principal variable. Three of the "test" stories were derived from actual accounts reported in *The New York*

Times and *New York Daily News*. Only the mail fraud report was constructed by the author. The criteria for selecting news reports were that they be relatively brief, coherent, and representative of the crime types of interest. Informational cues were reduced to a level that would be accepted by the reader as authentic, yet would not be directive. Stories were altered only to remove references to particular law enforcement personnel and to place the incidents in the experimental conditions.

Procedure. The study was fielded with the 1976 Detroit Area Study (DAS), conducted by the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Under a piggy-back arrangement made with DAS, the study questionnaires were supplied by the author to field interviewers, who simply left them with respondents upon completion of the DAS interviews. The DAS sample consisted of a two-stage probability sample of housing units drawn from the entire Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area. Also included was a supplemental probability sample of housing units occupied by blacks, located within Detroit city census tracts of at least 15 percent black-occupied households in 1970.

The study was designed as a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial repeated measures surveys experiment. The design focused on the two features of any crime report which are essential for the report to have meaning: *the type of crime* and the *general location* of its occurrence in the metropolitan area. Crime type, which constituted one dimension, was separated into violent and nonviolent. The location variable provided information on the two dimensions of urbanicity and ethnic identity. The location of the incident was either urban or suburban. Because the sample of respondents commonly construed the urban area to be mostly nonwhite, ethnicity became a third dimension. The three factors were employed in a fully crossed design, with news stories varied on the experimental factors.

Sample Description. A total of 1,134 DAS interviews were obtained (Bianchi 1976). However, only 996 individuals who completed the DAS interview actually accepted the questionnaire used in this study. Thus, the 389 individuals who returned useable completed questionnaires comprise 39 percent of the DAS group who accepted the questionnaire (n = 996). Given less than unity of correspondence between the respondents examined here and those constituting the larger DAS sample, it is appropriate to consider how the two groups differ with respect to demographic characteristics germane to this study.

Table 1 provides a descriptive profile of both samples on selected background variables. For the most part, the profiles are remarkably similar. The most obvious difference in this comparison is the relatively low percentage of black respondents in the study sample.

Table 1. Selected background variables for Detroit area study (DAS) and study sample

Variable	*DAS Sample* $N = 1134$	*Study Sample* $N = 389$
Age		
Range	18 - 89	19 - 81
Mean	45	44
Median	44	44
Education		
Range	1 - 17+	4 - 17+
Mean	11.88	12.41
Median	11.94	12.00
Sex		
Men	470 (41.4%)	157 (41.2%)
Women	644 (58.6%)	244 (58.8%)
Missing	0	8
Race		
White	727 (64.1%)	236 (81.7%)
Black	400 (35.3%)	53 (18.3%)
Missing	7 (.6%)	100

Results

Race attribution was the dependent variable, coded one for white and two for black. Thus, the analysis on the mean criminal race attribution in any instance is identical to an analysis of variance on proportions, with the interpretation of a mean value read as the proportion of black criminal race attribution. The reader should note that, although the analyses were conducted with respect to these means values, the histogram plottings of criminal race attribution value of 1.64 is plotted as 64 percent of the sample inferring black criminal race. Of course, the reciprocal proportion is associated with white race attribution. Throughout the test, mean values are used; their corresponding proportions are plotted in referenced figures.

Table 2 summarizes the analysis of the treatment effects of criminal race attributions.

Table 2. Summary of experimental treatments ANOVA on race attribution

Source of variation	*df*	*MS*	*F*
Between subjects			
Urbanicity (A)	1	1.896	9.305*
Ethnicity (B)	1	6.558	32.188**
A x B	1	2.128	10.445**
Error	348	.204	
Within subjects			
Crime type (C)	1	201.819	947.599**
A x C	1	4.394	20.629**
B x C	1	.682	3.204
A x B x C	1	.118	< 1
Error	348	.213	

*$p < .002$
**$p < .001$

The urbanicity factor displays a significant effect on criminal race attribution, F (1,348) = 9.305, $p < .002$, as does ethnicity of location, F (1,348) = 32.188, $p < .001$, their interaction, F (1,348) = 10.445, $p < .001$, type of crime, F (1,348) = 947.599, $p < .001$, and the interaction of urbanicity and crime type, F (1,348) = 20.629, $p < .001$.

The proportions of black race attribution, as shown in figure 1, clarify the character of the two interactions and the potent crime-type effect.

In the instance of the urbanicity x ethnicity interaction, the essential contributor is the sharp reduction in black race attribution in the suburban/white location. The ethnicity effect occurs within the white ethnicity component. Urban crimes result in fairly high black criminal race attributions in both white (1.64) and nonwhite (1.77) locations, whereas suburban crimes receive a high level of black race attribution in the nonwhite location (1.77) and white race attribution in the white location (1.33).

The urbanicity x crime type interaction plot in figure 2 reveals the distinct effect of crime type on race attribution. Crimes of violence are overwhelmingly ascribed to black perpetrators (1.87), while nonviolent crimes are believed to have white antagonists (1.25). The source of the interaction is the reduction of black race attribution in violent crimes occurring in the suburban location. Thus, while strong racial distinctions continue to exist

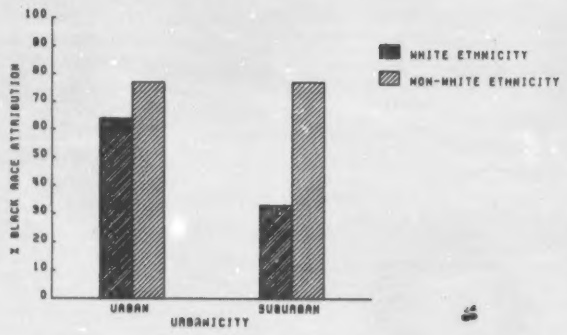

Figure 1. Histogram of urbanicity x ethnicity of location interaction on race attribution.

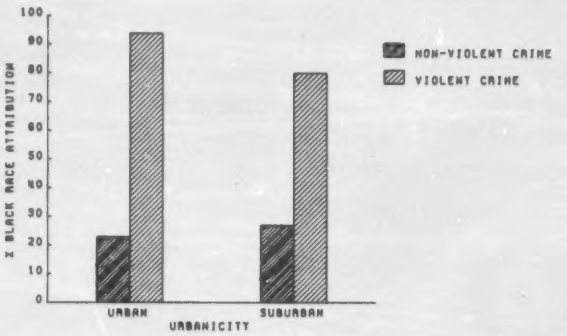

Figure 2. Histogram of urbanicity of location x crime type interaction on race attribution.

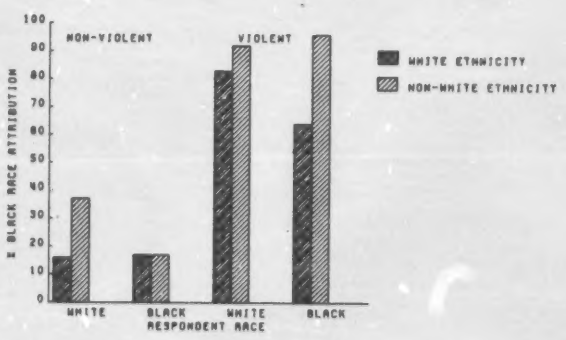

Figure 3. Histogram of ethnicity of location x respondent race x crime type interaction on race attribution.

between perpetrators of violent and nonviolent crimes in the suburban location, the level of black race attribution is less than that generated in the urban location.

Demographic Variables. To examine the relationship between criminal race attribution and selected demographic characteristics, respondents' sex, age, education, and race were entered into the analysis of variance in sequence with the experimental treatments. For each of these four-way analyses, the pattern of treatment effects reported above was maintained without any interpretably significant effects associated with the background factors excepting that of race. White respondents make higher levels of black criminal race attributions across all other variables than do black respondents (1.64 and 1.50, respectively). In figure 3, the ethnicity x race x crime type interaction plotting repeats the strong crime-type effect and reveals two distinct ethnicity x race patterns. Unlike white respondents, black respondents do not appear to be influenced by the ethnicity variable in making racial inferences with respect to nonviolent crimes. White respondents show fairly low levels of attributed black criminal involvement in nonviolent crimes occurring in ethnically white locations. In contrast, whites more uniformly make a black criminal race judgment when presented with crimes of violence, regardless of the ethnicity of the crime location. The race judgments of blacks are not so clearly uniform.

Mass Media and Victimization Variables. Respondents were also asked to indicate the degree to which they depended on several sources for news. Among these sources, newspapers and TV were the most relied upon and consequently were examined for their possible influence on race attribution. Using indices of high and low dependence on these media as factor levels, the analyses replicated the main treatment effects with no new emergent patterns. Dependency on either newspaper or TV does not appear to influence criminal race attribution.

Whether or not one has ever been *personally* victimized appears to play some role in race attribution. Table 3 provides summary data on the ethnicity x personal victimization interaction plotted in figure 4. Respondents who reported being victimized make significantly higher black criminal race attributions for crimes occurring in nonwhite locations (1.86) than they do for white areas (1.45). Black criminal race attributions made by nonvictimized respondents do not differ significantly for ethnicity of crime location. Whether or not a *family member* had been victimized does not influence race attribution; however, having a *close friend* who was victimized does contribute to a three-way interaction with urbanicity and crime type. Respondents who have a close friend who has been victimized report a higher level of black criminal race attribution for urban crimes of violence (1.96) than for suburban violent crimes (1.77; see figure 5). The incidence of victimization among respondents' social referents, i.e., family members and close friends, does not appear to be singularly influential in their pattern of criminal race attributions.

Figure 4. Histogram of ethnicity of location x personal victimization interaction on race attribution.

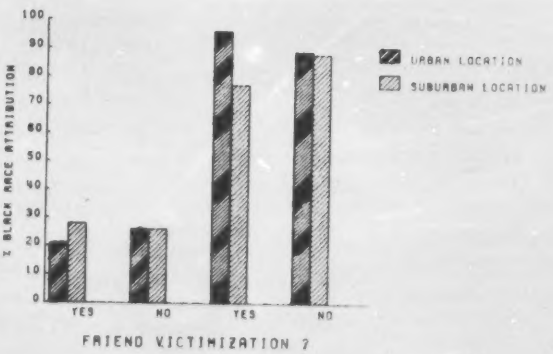

Figure 5. Histogram of urbanicity of location x friend victimization interaction on race attribution.

Table 3. Summary of experimental treatments and personal victimization ANOVA on race attribution

Source of variation	*df*	*MS*	*F*
Between subjects			
Urbanicity (A)	1	2.155	10.952**
Ethnicity (B)	1	6.316	32.106**
Personal victimization (C)	1	.479	2.436
A x B	1	2.275	11.563**
A x C	1	.030	< 1
B x C	1	1.393	7.080*
A x B x C	1	.217	1.103
Error	323	.197	
Within subjects			
Crime Type (D)	1	191.356	920.368**
A x D	1	4.192	20.160**
B x D	1	.572	2.753
C x D	1	.093	< 1
A x B x D	1	.272	1.306
A x C x D	1	.024	< 1
B x C x D	1	.518	2.492
A x B x C x D	1	.235	1.132
Error	323	.208	

*$p < .01$
**$p < .001$

In situations where respondents could report on the racial identity of the criminal involved in either their own victimization experience, a family member's experience, or a close friend's experience, they were asked to do so. This report of criminal racial identity was qualified by the respondent as being "probably true" or "known to be true." When the race of the criminal *known to be involved* in the reported victimization experience is entered into analyses, it, too, does not alter the basic attribution pattern. Neither victimization experience in one's social circles, nor the known race of the antagonist in these incidents, has a significant impact on the pattern of criminal race attributions obtained.

In summary, criminal race attribution appears to be primarily a function of the experimental manipulations.

(1) The urbanicity and ethnicity treatments interact to produce relatively high levels of black criminal race attributon in all locations except the suburban/white area.

(2) Crime type has the most potent effect, resulting in a clear pattern of black attribution for crimes of violence and white attribution for nonviolent crimes.

(3) Of the four demographic variables sequentially entered into the analysis of variance model, only respondent race demonstrates a significant effect, revealing whites to make substantially greater black criminal race attributions than blacks.

(4) Neither mass media dependence nor the known race of antagonists in prior victimization experiences affects race attribution.

Discussion

Clearly, the experimental treatments had a significant effect on respondents' criminal race attribution. The absence of any explicit reference to criminal race in the reported incidents did not preclude racial judgments; the information extracted from the location and type of crime variables was sufficient for respondents to infer racial identity.

Given the nature of the manipulations, it is plausible that respondents used a simple probability rule for assigning criminal race, based on their knowledge of the crime locations. For example, the urbanicity effect may result from the premise that urban areas have a higher concentration of blacks than suburban areas (especially in the study location of Detroit) and, therefore, a greater proportion of crimes committed by black perpetrators.

Similarly, given that an area is commonly believed to be ethnically nonwhite, the odds are greater that crimes in that area would have a nonwhite antagonist. This reasoning suggests a pattern of criminal race attribution displaying high black-race assignment in the nonwhite urban area and relatively low black-race assignment in the white suburban location (figure 1).

The probability rule based on population density is less applicable to the crime-type variable. In association of violent crime with black antagonists, respondents were almost unanimous in their black criminal race attribution for crimes of violence in the urban setting and only slightly less so for similar crimes in the suburban area. A simple probability rule to explain this result needs a strong presumption that criminal violence is closely linked with nonwhite perpetrators.

Indeed, when actual incidence of victimization was examined among respondents, those reporting such experiences did manifest a higher level of black-criminal race judgment in ethnically non-white areas.

But the more relevant dimension relative to race attribution seems to be the known characteristics of the antagonist who was involved in the respondent's experience of victimization. It is conceivable that, if one's most serious encounter was with a black antagonist, the pattern of attributed race in this study would be strongly influenced by such an experience. This direct experience would be similar to the concrete information of the Nisbett and Borgida (1975) work on consensus data displacement. However, no such influence occurred. Respondents whose most serious victimization was at the hands of a white perpetrator were no different in their race judgments from those victimized by a black criminal, a finding contrary to theoretical expectations relative to schema organization and function. Direct social experience should occupy a prominent position in the hierarchy of information source impact. While the failure of such experiences to influence race attribution does not alone eliminate the operation of a criminality schema, it does suggest that other factors may be involved.

The Role of Media. Measures of dependency and consumption of mass media were not found to be important in race attribution in this study, although other studies have suggested the influence of media in criminal schema development.

Abbott and Calonico (1974) reported that newspaper portrayal of rape overemphasized the incidence of black men raping white women. White respondents' perceptions of rape incidence were more consistent with newspaper bias than with actual rape statistics. Apparently the pattern of rape victimization projected by the newspaper medium served to structure beliefs about the crime.

It is possible that the high level of inner-city, black-identified, violent crime reporting, which is a common staple of local metropolitan news media, may similarly contribute to such strong bias in black criminal race judgment of violent crimes (Davis 1951; Knopf 1970; Singer 1973).

The Abbott and Calonico (1974) study also reported that black respondents perceived the intraracial character of rape more accurately than whites and were considerably less influenced by media projections. The respondent race main effect in this study provides some support for that finding. Across all treatment variables, whites made a significantly higher number of black criminal race attributions than did blacks. This suggests that blacks may not be as affected by the "mythology of crime" (Turk 1971) as are whites.

Race attribution of criminals described in this study highlights a pattern of differential violence ascribed to blacks. Whether this pattern is a consequence of racist journalistic practices or an outgrowth of a broader cultural association of blacks with violence cannot be unequivocally determined with these data. However, such attributions are likely to have a negative impact on blacks.

At the least, the high level of black race attribution for violent crimes invariably results in "false positives," instances in which a black criminal is assumed to have perpetrated a reported crime when, in fact, the antagonist is not black. It appears that the incidence of false positives is heightened in the absence of direct racial identification. Ironically, the racist influence of journalistic reporting underscored in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) is not mitigated by the elimination of overt racial identification. As a result, the cognitive association of blacks with violent crime grows stronger, and the young black male is repeatedly assumed to be the probable antagonist.

The high degree of concern and alarm over urban crime continues to play a significant role in the lifestyles of many inner-city residents and suburbanites. A belief that blacks are perpetrators of violent crime victimizes the individual himself and the large sector of young blacks who are most feared.

It may be argued that the economic and social constraints on blacks in urban areas contribute to a high level of crime and that the pattern of race attribution evidenced in this study merely reflects an objective reality. This argument suggests that one should examine the "objective" data on criminal activity in the metropolitan area of interest in order to validate or refute the differential attributions made, but such a suggestion bypasses the thrust of the question. A distinction between the accuracy of the inference and the process of the inference must be maintained. While it is possible to examine the relative accuracy of race judgments against police reports, for example, it is the facility with which the judgments are made which is of interest. The findings revealed an overwhelming pattern of perceived black perpetration in crimes of violence.

Moreover, white respondents displayed a significantly greater degree of such attribution than did black respondents.

Future research should pursue the issues concerning public beliefs about criminality, especially in terms of their impact on society as a whole and on black people in particular. The role of the media in fostering or reinforcing erroneous images of blacks' involvement in crime needs to be fully examined, and racist conceptions of criminality must be viewed in a broader cultural context where such beliefs serve to sanction increasingly repressive measures to combat crime in our streets.

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Chapter 14

An Empirical Study of Racism in Community Functioning

Daniel J. Hurley, Oscar A. Barbarin, and Roger E. Mitchell

ABSTRACT

The purposes of this paper are twofold: (1) to assess differences in experience of community functioning in black and white communities; and (2) to determine which problems or apparent deficits in the black community may be attributed to institutional racism in its resource/boundary exchange relationships. A conceptual framework for the comparative analysis of community functioning has been applied to the study of one white and one black community. Data consisted of an inventory of existing service resources in each community and a community survey of resource providers and active and inactive citizen resource users. The survey sample consisted of 102 participants, 47 in the black community and 55 in the white community. Analysis of the data indicated significant differences between black and white community participants, particularly in the experience of the community processes of resource use, problem solving, and influence channels. The resource inventory indicated that the black community had significantly fewer resources to make available to its members. Results supported the hypothesis that experiences of community functioning are related to different racial structuring of the community. The significant deficits arising from the assessment of the black community seem appropriately attributable to the differential nature of the resource exchange with the larger resource system or, more simply, institutional racism. Implications of these data have been discussed for theoretical, empirical, and political analyses of community functioning and institutional racism.

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After introducing and defining the notion of community competence, Iscoe (1974) suggested that communities could be assessed in terms of being more or less competent or effective as human systems. This psychologist continued by addressing the obvious sequitur—which ones are more effective. His observation was that middle-class communities, implicit white communities, "have the mechanisms and the track record" (Iscoe 1974; p. 609). Iscoe offered little explanation of the criteria used and no empirical evidence for his assessment. Unfortunately, his conclusion not only coincides with popular beliefs (e.g., nonmiddle-class and nonwhite communities are inferior) but also reinforces them.

Hence, in this chapter, we seek to address two questions: (1) Are white communities in fact more competent; and (2) if so, why? To address the first question, we used a general model for assessing community functioning and applied it to the study of one black community and one white community. To address the second question, we speculated that, instead of attributing incompetence to the black community and its individual members, a more valid hypothesis might be discovered in the workings of institutional racism. That is, some of the differences in white and black communities might be a function of the differential assignment of resources from the larger political system to the two communities. We paid special attention to data related to resource provision and utilization.

Operationally, this focus required talking to both resource providers—the service and government personnel—and the resource utilizers, the community residents. We first discuss definitions of terms and our general strategy or methodology. We then discuss our findings, in terms of the particular processes specified in our definition of community effectiveness and in terms of the interaction of these patterns within a given community. Our conclusions are designed both to summarize our findings and to present the implications of these findings for future work in the development of appropriate theory, research, and action concerning institutional racism and community processes.

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism is defined as those sets of processes in community systems that produce dif-

ferential resources (services, money, jobs, etc.) and outcomes for different groups on the basis of the race of its members (Barbarin chapter 2, this volume). Historically, the definitions of racism in America have undergone several discernible shifts in emphasis, moving from a focus on racism's outcome or effect on its victims to a focus on the personal attributes (fear, hatred, bigotry) of the racist, to a focus on the institutional processes that benefit one racial group to the detriment of another. The problem with the first "victim" approach is its circularity. Since such studies emphasize effect, it is not possible to understand the processes (or responsibilities) that lead to the particular outcome. Often, the result is to attribute implicit causality or blame to the victim. The second focus on personal attributes is on understanding the personality of the *individual doing the discriminating*, an approach which also suffers from being an individual blame strategy. It requires identification of one individual who can clearly be designated as prejudiced or racist. One outcome of this strategy is the large society not having to share the responsibility (or the burden of change) for the processes or outcomes of racism. Responsibility is attributed to a select group of overt "deviants" with "bad" personalities.

The final focus shifts toward understanding how broader *social units* (e.g., societies, cultures, communities, institutions), systems of which we are all a responsible part, have embedded within their procedures and policies the means of producing racist outcomes. Our work has been within the broader focus of how such systems affect the interaction of the community and its individual members in a racist manner. Such a perspective necessitates the integration of the study of racism and the assessment of those processes in communities that are essential to the system's survival and competence.

We confront the necessity of trying to sort out those community processes that contribute to the effective functioning of the community and/or to the development of a racist system. Finally, we assume that any understanding of racism becomes comprehensive by focusing on those individuals affected, those directly perpetrating racism, and the systems within which these individuals interact.

Model for Assessing Community Functioning

The need for having the assessment and change of community systems guided by some conceptual framework or map of how communities function has been emphasized repeatedly by those involved. This need has grown out of a widespread appreciation for the complexity of community systems and for the multiple, interacting groups and forces that make up the community. Our model is based on a general definition of community and encompasses multiple parameters defined theoretically and empirically in community and organizational psychology as "components of effective human systems" (Hurley 1977). We developed a way to look at communities that not only provides a general organizing framework but also is fairly efficient in highlighting dimensions to be assessed (see table 1).

Table 1. Parameters for assessing community functioning

Community structure	Community culture	Community process
Physical space	Identity	Resource utilization
Time	Values	Person power utilization
Psychosocial groupings (age, race, income, etc.)	Rules	Task performance
	Priorities	Problem solving
	Climate	Communication
		Power/influence
		Boundary exchange

Our general theoretical framework is that of the general systems theorists. We have defined the community as a dynamic and open social system, consisting of a collection of individuals, functioning and interacting within a matrix of mutually influential processes. These individuals and processes are organized within a general structure and operate in accordance with a commonly established culture. Using "dynamic" and "open" as qualifiers, we define the community as constantly evolving, continuously transforming energy and resources and engaging in an ongoing exchange with the systems in its environment. General systems theory assumes an interaction of system components (i.e., a change in any part of the system affects the other parts) hence, the definition of a matrix of mutually influential processes. Processes refer to those operations by which a community

functions to meet its own needs as a system and the needs of its individual members and its environment. Structure refers to the physical context (spatial and temporal) and psychosocial groupings (e.g., race, sex) within a given community. Culture is used to define a community's set of values, identity, priorities, rules, and psychosocial climate. As in an organizational job analysis, the effective community is one that (1) develops an integrated and effective set of processes for meeting its own needs and individual member and environment needs; (2) develops an organizing structure that facilitates these operations; and (3) defines a commonly accepted culture within which the members and these processes can operate together. Along with the need for multiple criteria for the assessment of community effectiveness, this framework offers dimensions for discriminating and linking the impact (or lack thereof) of institutional racism on the community and its members.

Rationale

The authors have set out to address the interaction of community effectiveness and institutional racism. The discussion of institutional racism has highlighted two facts (1) that one component of racism may be operationalized in the ways that communities function as systems; and (2) that in particular, the assignment and utilization of resources and services may be the critical process that links the notions of effective communities and racism. This discussion sensitized the authors to the need for a framework that would define relevant parameters of the ways that communities function and to the need to obtain data from community members vis-a-vis their role in the resource distribution and utilization processes. The authors have incorporated a discussion of their own work in community psychology to provide one theoretical framework for studying effective community functioning. Then, we have defined service providers (e.g., resource distributors) and active and inactive residents (e.g., differential roles as resource utilizers) as the appropriate subject pool to highlight the resource assignment and utilization process. It is the purpose of this study to compare different racial communities to ascertain different degrees of effectiveness on multiple criteria. In addition, it is our purpose to identify those parameters of community functioning which may be detrimental in the black community and may be a function of the differential assignment of resources by the larger environment, or institutional racism. Our main hypothesis is that different racial structuring of community will be related to different experience of community functioning by community members. A second hypothesis is that negative differences in the black community will be due in part to the nature of the resource exchange with its environment. The independent variable here is racial structuring of the community. Two communities have been chosen for comparison that differ in their racial composition: one predominantly black and one predominantly white. The dependent variables on which comparison will be made are the criteria specified in the model of community functioning presented previously (e.g., structure, culture, and the processes of resource utilization, problem-solving, task performance, communication, influence, and boundary exchange). In summary, then, it is our intention to apply the framework of community analysis presented here to the study of one black community and one white community. This application is designed to provide empirical information and refinement to the two main concerns here: (1) In which ways black and white communities are different within a general framework of community effectiveness; and (2) in which ways negative differences in the black community are a function of institutional racism in its relationship to the larger white systems of its environment.

Methodology

Subjects. The community subjects in this study are two towns in the metropolitan Washington area. The authors have been working in both communities as part of the ongoing community involvement of the Community Field Station of the Community-Clinical Psychology Program of the University of Maryland. Both towns are physically proximate incorporated municipalities in the Washington metropolitan area. This selection was designed to insure that the communities studied would have a legal identity and a formal political structure. The selection insured also that both communities are engaged in exchange with the same larger system, in terms of political and resource networks. The authors felt that it was necessary to select communities that are comparable and somewhat representative of the black and white communities of this metropolitan part of the country.

Hence, both communities are located in close proximity to the Washington, D.C., border and have been subject to the same general population shifts in quantitative, but not qualitative, terms. Although there have been roughly comparable rates of population turnover in the last 10 years, the white community has gone from an all white population to one approximately 90 percent white. Over this same period, the black community has gone from a predominantly white population to one approximately 90 percent black. While differing in terms of racial groupings, the communities were similar in terms of the structural variables: relevant demographic criteria of education level, husband-wife households, families below poverty level, size, and population density. It should be noted that the white community had a slightly larger population (approximately 12,933 to 7,279) and median family income ($11,800 to $10,797) than the black community. It was decided that, given the necessary research conditions (two legally incorporated towns within the same larger political system), the two communities selected could be considered as representative of the current status of black and white communities in this particular county and in such metropolitan areas generally. Thus, the authors decided that, within the constraints of the available population of communities and within the constraints of the mentioned dissimilarities, the two communities could be compared in terms of contrasting the functioning of such black and white communities.

The *individual* participants in this research included residents and key service providers in the two communities. To develop a representative resident sample, both active and inactive residents were defined and included. The total individual sample included 102 people, 47 residents in the black community and 55 in the white community. In the white community sample, there were 15 service providers, 17 active residents, and 23 inactive residents. In the black community, there were 13 service providers, 15 active residents, and 19 inactive residents. The service providers in each community were chosen on the basis of their formal employment by one of the community's service delivery systems, specifically, public health and mental health services, churches, police, and four departments, juvenile services, social (e.g., welfare) services, family counseling services, and town government officials. Within each system, service providers were selected who spent the majority of their work hours in the targeted communities. *Active residents* were defined as citizens who regularly attend town meetings and/or civic association meetings. A core of frequent participants at these meetings was identified in each town. These residents were then recruited for this study following such meetings. The inactive citizens were defined in terms of their inactiye involvement in the same meetings used to identify the active residents (e.g., town meetings). The sample of inactive residents was composed of residents randomly selected and contacted who defined themselves as not actively participating in such meetings or political groups. There were no significant differences between the two resident groups on the dimension of sex, age, or length of residence in the town. Hence, the individual subject pool consisted of a sample of community members defined by their roles in relation to the utilization and distribution of community resources.

Measures. A community survey has been designed both to serve as a general community assessment tool and to gather data on parameters of community functioning relevant to this particular research effort (Barbarin, Mitchell, and Hurley 1977). The survey form contains clusters of specific questions (open-ended, Likert Scale, and yes-no format) designed to obtain information regarding residents' experiences relevant to each of the community parameters specified in these authors' model of community functioning (see table 2).

Table 2. Survey measures of community variables

Community culture

Community culture was defined in terms of residents' perceptions of the psychosocial climate of the community. Particular dimensions specified included sense of satisfaction with community and sense of support from neighbors.

Satisfaction: Survey item asked residents to rate on a seven-point Likert Scale how much they liked living in the town.

Support: Survey item asked residents to rate on a seven-point Likert Scale how likely it was that neighbors would help in a time of difficulty.

Community processes

Community processes were defined as those mechanisms employed by a system to meet its own needs as a system and the needs of its members. Particular dimensions specified in this study included resource availability and utilization, problem solving, service utilization (or task performance), information channels, influence channels, and boundary exchange.

Resource availability and utilization:

Financial: Availability of financial resources was defined by the median family income for residents in each com-

munity. The index listed in 1970 U.S. Census records was used.

Service: An inventory of services available to residents in each town was made using available town and county service directories. A simple total of all services was used for the availability index.

Resource perceived: Residents were asked to list the three things that they liked about their community and three things that they saw as needs or problems. Responses were scored for the number of responses and for the kind of responses given.

Resource utilization: The survey contained a set of simulated problems to which residents were asked to provide solutions. Responses were analyzed with regard to the kinds of resources that were tapped. Responses were coded in terms of the use of self-resources (e.g., personal money, talk to woman, etc.), informal resources (e.g., community groups, clubs, associations), or formal resources (e.g., town government, mental health center).

Problem solving: Residents were asked to solve simulated problems related to consumer, mental health, financial, and service planning issues. Responses were scored for the number of different alternatives that a resident reported for each problem.

Service utilization: Four human service organizations were presented to residents to assess how the services were utilized and how effective the services were perceived to be. Town government, mental health, police, and social services were evaluated. Transactions with the service were measured by summing residents' positive responses to knowledge of services, location, staff, and actual use. For effectiveness, respondents were asked to rate overall service performance on a four-point scale from "poor" to "excellent."

Information channels: Respondents were asked to identify the channels they used to get information about services available in the town. Channels listed were relatives, friends, TV, newspapers, radio, and other. Both the number of channels identified and the types of channels were scored.

Influence channels: Respondents were asked to identify the five most influential people in their town in terms of getting things done. Responses were scored for the number of people identified and for the specific type of response.

Boundary exchange: Residents were asked to identify how often they went outside of their community and for what purposes. Responses were scored for both frequency and purpose of such exchanges.

Procedures. This research was an initial study to refine the measurement of community effectiveness and to compare community functioning and residents' experience of community in a black and a white community. Data collection consisted of structured, face-to-face interviews of approximately 30 minutes with each participant. Participants, recruited as previously discussed, were interviewed in their homes or on their jobs, depending on their roles, and provided with a community resource directory in return for completing the survey. Survey teams consisted of faculty and graduate and undergraduate students from the University of Maryland. All interviewers were trained both in interviewing skills and in administration of the survey. Results of the survey were provided to respondents upon request, with confidentiality of the names of respondents and their responses guaranteed. The response rate for the total sample was 70 percent, with no significant difference between the two towns.

Results

The results indicate the findings relevant to community culture (priorities, satisfaction, and support) and then the community processes (resource utilization, problem solving, service performance, communication, influence, and boundary exchange). As previously discussed, this research was part of a larger study that involved studying the interaction of members' roles in their community and their relation to (and experience of) community functioning (Barbarin et al. 1977). The data for the entire research effort were analyzed, using a two-factor (members role and race of community) multivariate analysis of variance. The data presented here represent the F-scores for the main effects of race of community. All discontinuous variables were analyzed using the chi-square analysis to compare members in the black and white communities (table 3). In general, the results seem to indicate that the real differences between the two communities lie more in terms of how they function and how residents experience this functioning than in terms of how members evaluate and experience the culture generated within the community.

Community Culture. The measures of community culture assessed differences between members of the black and white communities in relation to their priorities for community needs, satisfaction with their community, and sense of support from neighbors. With regard to community culture, the main effect of race was significant $F = 4.60$, $p < .001$, suggesting that members' perceptions of the climate of their communities differ significantly in the white and black communities. However, the hierarchy of needs or priorities for members of the two communities indicated problems ranked in identical order: juvenile delin-

Table 3. Mean and standard deviation scores of community culture and community process variables by race of town

Variable	White community	Black community	F-value
I. Community culture			
Community strengths: number	(N = 55)	(N = 44)	4.60***
M	1.61	1.34	2.34
s.d.	(.99)	(.89)	
Community deficits: number			
M	2.11	2.68	10.63***
s.d.	(1.12)	(.74)	
rating of problems			
M	3.62	4.52	15.94***
s.d.	(1.13)	(1.21)	
Satisfaction rating			
M	5.58	5.34	0.57
s.d.	(1.51)	(1.82)	
II. Community processes			3.30** (Multivariate F-value)
Service utilization: overall index			
M	2.39	2.28	0.60
s.d.	(.90)	(.86)	
rating of services			
M	3.65	3.51	1.11
s.d.	(.61)	(.74)	
Communication channels: number			
M	2.15	2.62	2.06
s.d.	(1.71)	(1.75)	
Influence process: number of sources			
M	2.43	2.25	0.26
s.d.	(1.82)	(1.88)	
Problem solving: style			
M	3.04	3.09	0.12
s.d.	(.66)	(.71)	
no. of alternatives			
M	1.51	1.26	5.83*
s.d.	(.61)	(.57)	

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

quency, service needs of senior citizens, public transportation, and drug abuse. Members' sense of satisfaction with their community was not significantly different between the two communities. Similarly members' sense of support from neighbors was not significantly different. In summary, members' overall experience of their community was different, but community support, its priorities, and members' satisfaction were similar in the black and white communities. The difference in community experiences stems from members of the black community perceiving significantly more problems and stresses than members of the white community perceive. However, these findings indicate not only that members have similar goals and perceptions, but also that both communities are perceived by their residents as viable living places offering high degrees of support and satisfaction.

Community Processes. The findings suggest that the members of the two communities reported significant differences regarding how their communities worked in terms of resource availability and utilization, problem solving, and influence.

The measurement of resource-related processes included an assessment of both assets and liabilities. There was an inventory of existing resources available, financial and service, and an assessment of members' perceptions of service, people, and physical assets and liabilities in their community. This assessment included open-ended responses for community strengths and weaknesses, as well as a list of specific need items rated for importance on a seven-point Likert scale. The inventory of *financial resources* employed the single indicator of median family income, this index being one obtainable way to measure a member's direct access to financial resources. According to the 1970 census, the median family income in the white community was approximately $11,800 and in the black community $10,797. Differential property values and population trends since 1970 indicate that this difference has widened. Thus, the data support the conclusion that families in the white community have available to them more financial resources than their counterparts in the black community. The inventory of existing *service resources* included churches, libraries, shopping centers, fire and police stations, health facilities, playgrounds, and schools located within the town boundaries. On this inventory, the white community members had access to 38 such resource facilities, while the black community members had access to 13 such service facilities. Thus, while the white community had approximately one and one-third times as many people, their members had available to them three times as many resource facilities.

Respondents were asked to provide their perceptions of the strengths and needs of their community. In terms of strengths, there were no significant differences either in the number or the kinds of strengths that white and black community respondents saw in their community. (While not significant overall, the frequency of reported strengths related to the service delivery system was noticeably higher in the white community where 12 respondents cited specific formal services as community strengths. Only one respondent in the black community cited any such service as a community strength.)

There were significant differences in residents' perceptions of community needs. Respondents in the black community reported a significantly greater number of needs, $F(1,93) = 10.63$, $p \leq .01$ and significantly different kinds of needs, $x^2(2) = 9.24$, $p \leq .01$. Comparing the kinds of needs reported, black community respondents more frequently list those related to human services and, less frequently, to physical maintenance. This pattern was reversed in the white community where respondents more frequently cited physical maintenance needs and less service needs. There were no noticeable differences in the reporting of needs related to the kinds of people living in the community (e.g., unfriendly, undesirable, apathetic, etc.). This differing pattern of perceived needs became evident again, when respondents were asked to rate the importance in their community of the specific need items. Overall, the ratings were significantly higher (indicating greater need) for black community respondents ($F(1,93) = 15.94$, $p \leq .001$). Within the total list, items specifically addressing need for formal services (e.g., social services, health services, etc.) seemed to contribute most to the significant differences. Hence, respondents in the black community perceived greater needs, especially those related to human services, but a balanced account of respondents' perceptions of their community must take into account the similarities in community strengths, both in kind and number, between white and black community respondents.

The results document clear differences, both in actual availability and in respondents' perceptions of community resources. The data indicate that the respondents from the black community studied have fewer financial and service resources and perceive their community as having greater needs. The data reinforce the "deficits" findings traditionally associated with the problems of the black community. The data related to respondents' perceptions of community strengths provide a corrective factor—the perceptions of black community respondents were not significantly different from those of white community respondents. When these data are considered along with the similarly positive ratings of satisfaction and support, it becomes clear that the black community respondents do not see the community as pathological any more than whites view their own community. This apparent incongruence (high-positive, high-negative evaluation) in the black community's self-evaluation is related to financial income and existence of service facilities. Perceptions of black

community respondents seem to bear out their awareness of such deficits, particularly in human service. The problem needs to be defined, not as one inherent to the black community or its individual members, but as one of community-large systems (in this case, county) relations. The problem is in the differential distribution of service resources at the county decisionmaking levels and the employment opportunities in the larger economic system. The data indicate that the main differential criteria for distribution relate not to expressed or actual need, but rather to the race of the community—defined in this context as institutional racism. In this transactional context it is clear how black community respondents can negatively evaluate specific parts of their community experience (those involving county service provision) and just as positively value their overall experience of the community (especially those involving informal networks and neighbors).

Resource Utilization. To determine which resources residents are likely to use in solving problems, we presented five simulated problems to each respondent. Responses were scored according to the kinds of resources tapped (e.g., none, one's own resources, informal community resources, and formal services resources). The data indicated significant differences between black and white community respondents in terms of the pattern of resources used, $X^2(7) = 22.73$, $p \leq .01$. Contributing most to this difference was the differential reported use of formal and informal resources. White community respondents reported a much greater frequency of utilizing formal services, a pattern consistent with the data reported on availability.

Black community respondents are not likely to report potential use of formal resources that are not available. This pattern of reliance on informal resources in the black community has been documented similarly elsewhere (e.g., Liebow 1967; Hill 1968). The vitality of this informal network in black communities is seen in two ways: first, as a community strength particular to blacks; and second, partly as an outgrowth of the lack of availability and/or trust in formal white institutions and services. Hence, in this study and in others, the reliance on such informal networks to solve problems seems to be a direct outgrowth of the differential assignment of resources by the larger white system. An added value of this particular comparative analysis is the highlighting of the white community participants' reliance on formal resources. The availability and utilization of formal resources to solve problems have come at the expense of (almost in neglect of) an informal community network.

Problem Solving. Responses were also used to assess community respondents' problem-solving processes (how respondents dealt with the problem). Two parameters were measured: the number of alternative solutions an individual reported and the degree of active self-involvement in problem resolution. There were no significant differences with regard to how actively self-involved respondents became in solving the simulated problems, although white community respondents reported a significantly greater number of alternatives available than did black community respondents, $F(1, 93) = 5.83$, $p \leq .05$. Within a problem-solving context, this significant difference indicates that white community respondents perceive more options or a greater "freedom of movement" in coping with problems. Most problem-solving theorists (e.g., Rotter et al. 1972; Bandura 1969; Seligman 1975) attribute such flexibility to enhanced self-efficacy. But, once again, before attributing less competence to black community respondents, the source of such variance needs to be considered, for black community respondents report being no less actively self-involved in solving problems. Their active coping occurs within a more restricted range of perceived alternatives, a result which is consistent with the lack of available and perceived formal service resources in the black community. Again, the results can be attributed as much to the impact of institutional racism on the black community's restricted solutions as to the often cited individual incompetence or apathy of the community respondents.

Service Utilization. Respondents were asked to assess the quality of their transactions with the following service agencies: town government, mental health, social services, police, and church. The criteria used to measure the quality of the exchange were: (1) transaction index—knowledge of services, location, and staff, and actual use; and (2) effectiveness index—rating of perceived service effectiveness. For all services, the results indicate no significant differences between black and white community respondents for either the transaction index or the perceived effectiveness index. In addition, the multivariate F score for the cluster of specific service indices was not significant, negating consideration of the specific significant scores

for each of the five services. Essentially, the data available here indicate that, for the formal services that are available, black and white community respondents report no significant differences in their knowledge and use of these services and no significant differences in their perceptions of effectiveness of such services. Measured within the context of what is available, then, service utilization patterns of black and white community respondents indicate no differences. Within the context of previous data, differences in service utilization show up only in the reality of what is available and what respondents rely on in the absence of formal services.

Influence Channels. One aspect of the utilization of resources in a community is the identification of the people who seem to exert the most influence in distributing and applying available resources. To assess this influence factor, respondents were asked to identify the five most powerful people in their community "in terms of getting things done." Criteria measured were the number and kind of people so identified. There were no significant differences in the number of people identified by respondents in both communities.

But, while the perceived influence circle seemed to be similar in size, its membership was significantly different in terms of the type of people identified, $X^2(12) = 62.79$, $p \leq .001$. In the white community, county officials were most frequently cited, then the town mayor and council, and then the local businessmen. In the black community, respondents identified the town mayor and council most frequently, then members of the neighborhood civic associations, and then local clergy. (In the black community, the second most frequent response was "no one," with 16 percent of the total black community responses and only 1½ percent of the total white community responses.) The data indicate that in the white community the people with direct access to formal resources in the town and in the larger county system are recognized. The influence channels in the black community identified by this sample as effective are all internal ones. Local residents (e.g., elected residents, neighbors, and clergy) are identified as getting things done. Those people with direct access through external influence channels to county and private business resources are identified by less than 1 percent of all black community respondents as getting things done in their community. The perceived inaccessibility of black community respondents to these county and private influence channels is striking, causing black community respondents to rely once again on internal, alternative resources.

Information Channels. When respondents were asked to indicate how they received information about available resources, data indicated no significant differences in the channels (number or kind) reported by black and white community respondents.

Boundary Exchange. Participants were asked how often and for what purpose they went outside of their community for resources. There were no significant differences between the responses of black and white community respondents for either frequency or purpose. Given the previous consistent data revealing the absence of resources in the black community, one might expect that respondents would report going elsewhere with greater frequency, but the data indicate that black community respondents "make do" with what is available in their community. The explanation of this particular finding needs exploration within an individual-system interaction perspective.

Summary. Although the data showed significant differences in the perceptions of community of black and white community respondents, the lack of significant differences is as striking as the differences. Respondents in the black and white communities reported no significant differences in their community priorities, satisfaction with community, or sense of support from neighbors. Both groups saw their community as providing high degrees of satisfaction and support. The main difference in the culture-related cluster was found on the variable of perceived deficits, for which black community respondents reported more deficits, specifically related to service resources. For the process-related variables, there were significant differences in resource availability, resource utilization, problem solving, and influence channels. The resource-availability criteria documented the fact that black community residents have fewer service and financial resources available to them, a difference that seems critical to understanding the consistencies across the process-related dimensions of resource utilization, problem solving, and influence. Black community respondents reported a significantly different pattern of resource utilization, with greater reliance on informal resources, fewer alternatives available for problem solving, and greater reliance on internal and informal influence chan-

nels. White community respondents reported more frequent use of formal resources, more alternatives available for problem solving, and greater reliance on external and formal influence channels. There were no significant differences found for respondents' perceptions of service performance of commonly available service agencies, for information channels used, or for boundary exchange patterns. Different patterns of individual experience of community functioning emerge: Black community respondents reported a much greater reliance on informal, internal community processes. White community respondents indicated a greater reliance on formal community mechanisms and on external (e.g., county) channels.

Discussion

The data presented here focus on the comparative analysis of black and white communities, specifically in terms of community members' perception of community functioning. A second focus is on the relationship between community functioning and institutional racism. The main hypothesis of this study has been that different racial community structuring is related to different experiences of community functioning by community members. A second hypothesis is that negative differences in the black community are related to institutional racism, in terms of the nature of exchange with the external resource system. The data support the first hypothesis, particularly on the process-related criteria of community functioning, and, although tested indirectly, the second hypothesis is supported.

There are questions related to differential effectiveness, to the role of institutional racism in black community functioning, and to an explanation of the results within the theoretical framework. Finally, there are implications for theory, research, and policy in the area of racism and community processes.

Several points mentioned earlier need to be kept in mind. First, the study compares one black and one white community. The sample of individual community members is representative, but not large. The sample of communities is small. Generalizing from two specific communities in a specific geographical area to other communities must also be done with care. Initial differences in the two communities in terms of a slightly larger population and family income in the white community, and qualitatively different population turnover patterns, offer alternative explanations for these findings that cannot be definitively excluded. The authors have attempted to study two representative communities that would meet the experimental criterion of membership within the same larger resource/political system. We feel that they are representative of a number of such communities within the metropolitan areas surrounding urban centers in the United States. The difference cited in population size, income, and migration patterns is fairly representative of black and white communities within the same counties bordering on cities with sizeable black populations.

The process of this study is as important as (and perhaps more generalizable then) the specific findings, for the results suggest that the approach is valuable for assessing the impact of institutional racism on communities and their members.

To determine which communities are more competent, a multicriteria model for assessing community systems was proposed: The more effective community is one capable of developing a working set of processes, a culture to guide its functioning, and a structure within which to operate. In this study, two communities with different structures were compared, using culture and process criteria. Essentially, the results indicate (perhaps not surprisingly) that the two communities had different strengths and weaknesses. Both the black and white communities were perceived by members as effectively generating a viable culture within a climate of satisfaction, support, and shared priorities. The black community appeared less effective in dealing with the service needs or deficits. The black community developed effective informal processes in resource utilization, problem solving, and influence, while the white community developed effective formal channels for the same processes. The black community appeared less effective in making available to its residents as many options or alternatives for problem solving and in having developed viable influence channels to resources in the larger external system. The data also lend further evidence toward the abolition of the "black community as pathological" hypothesis.

Institutional racism is defined as those sets of processes in community systems that produce differential resources and outcomes for different groups on the basis of the race of their members. The data indicated that the white community had available to its members more resources (service

and financial) than the black community. The study involved two communities whose financial and service resources are predominantly assigned to towns by the larger county and State system. The results show that black community residents indicated a lack of county-distributed resources and relied on internal and informal resources to solve problems and get things done. The county produced different levels of resources and types of outcomes that appear attributable to their racial composition.

A proposed model for understanding community functioning assumed two important principles of General Systems Theory: (1) A critical process for system survival and development is the nature of the input received from the environment; and (2) all elements of a system are inter-related. The inequities in input documented here lead to a prediction of differences affecting most of the community processes (e.g., resource utilization, problem solving, etc.). The pattern across specific variables in the results is consistent with the ideas that system input determines community functioning and that the system processes are mutually dependent. Given that the black community had specific and limited resources available, the finding that respondents generated fewer solutions (particularly those related to formal service solutions) is not surprising. Also understandable is the finding that residents recognized as influential those people who had access to the available internal and informal resources. With a systems framework, the consistency between resources available, how people use resources to solve problems, and who controls the distribution of available resources is a basic principle applicable to all human systems. Hence, the assumption of the theoretical framework proposed here helped to define critical parameters to study in community analysis and to integrate and understand the specific results of the multiple criteria.

Comparative analyses of communities need multiple criteria that will be sensitive enough to discern the many subtle differences in the ways that communities function. The theoretical framework defined here is helpful in delineating critical parameters to measure and to use for comparative purposes. This theoretical framework also explains and integrates the diverse findings into some meaningful pattern. The comparative analysis of community systems must begin with a statement of the assumptions and criteria upon which comparisons will be based and within which the results will be explained. A conceptual definition of racism is also necessary to understand both the strengths and limitations of work related to this topic. The particular tri-component definition of racism employed here is within the context of the investigation of institutional racism. At the same time, this focus emphasizes that the systems dimension must be considered along with the other perspectives of racism which involve victim and perpetrator. The three factors in the racism interaction should prevent a naive jump from a reductionistic individual-blame focus to an equally oversimplified system-blame focus.

As a pilot effort in the analysis of community functioning and institutional racism, this study needs to be replicated in more communities and with more community members involved. The research process proposed here (theoretical definitions of racism and community functioning leading to operational definitions of particular variables) is valuable and useful for linking racism and community processes. Additional work suggested by this study includes the correlation of members' subjective experience of community with more objective data (e.g., demographic, geographic, epidemiological, etc.). Finally, the research data, such as the findings generated in this study, can be applied to helping to change the very process of institutional racism.

The implications of this study for social policy are several: (1) Social programs and policies need to be attentive to the *strengths* of different types of communities. For example, any social action programs in the previously described black community should be sensitive to their impact on residents' effective use of informal measures; (2) differential distribution of resources has a major impact upon residents' experience of community; (3) community development efforts ought not to focus solely on the internal workings and processes of communities, but also on the impact of forces in the environment external to the community.

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Section IV
Assessment of Racism: Overview

Attempts to measure institutional racism have focused either on process or on outcome. Process measures are concerned with interpersonal attitudes, behaviors, organizational procedures, and the policies which govern organizational functioning. Because institutional racism is often indirect, subtle, and diffuse, assessment techniques which concentrate on the process of institutional racism are most difficult to develop and validate. Successful efforts to measure the process of racism focus on the quality of interpersonal relations or the attitudes which govern cross racial interactions. For example O'Connor (1977b) assesses racism in government organizations by examining prototypical racist behaviors, such as tokenism, biased performance ratings, ethnic jokes, and by measuring frequency of occurrence of such interpersonal behaviors.

A second strategy involves measuring variables which mediate racist behaviors, such as stereotypes about minorities, although most of this effort has been restricted to interpersonal attitudes. Claiborn and Taylor describe a research project which assesses the extent to which individuals have stereotypical beliefs about nonwhites' behavior. The importance of their work is related to the systematic fashion in which they generate measures to assess stereotypical thinking and behavior. They propose the use of the term "racialism" as a superordinate concept that includes both racist and nonracist negative stereotypes about nonwhites. Thus, they acknowledge that individuals may have attitudes which affect their behavior toward nonwhites which may not be racist in content but may be based on economic or other factors, related, for example, to competition among racial groups. Racialism includes attitudes that are based on beliefs about the genetic inferiority of nonwhites as well as attitudes or stereotypes which have no such assumptions. In addition, Claiborne and Taylor describe a taxonomy of racialism, based on earlier work by Taylor, that includes overt and covert attitudinal and behavioral manifestations of racism on both individual and institutional levels. This approach to measurement of racism assumes that, the greater awareness individuals have of racist occurrences, the less likely they are to condone or contribute to institutional forms of racism.

Alone, this approach to measuring racism is insufficient in that it fails to account for attributes of the institution. Barbarin and Gilbert describe an approach which assesses individual perceptions of personal and organizational attributes and examines the organization's climate for racism. It is based on the notion that racism exists in an organization when that organization is less effective in providing for the needs of minority groups than for those of nonminority groups. The Institutional Racism Scale, described in this paper, examines perceptions of minority input, minority participation in management, and the extent to which the organization accepts and fosters cultural diversity. Additional elements added by the Institutional Racism Scale are the assessments of personal and management involvement in the reduction of racism. Together, the Racialistic Incidence Inventory (RII) and the Institutional Racism Scale represent efforts to assess the process rather than the outcome of institutional racism.

Attempts to assess the outcome of institutional racism are relatively recent, often coming from such fields as economics or public administration. However, the Fiman chapter is an effort to quantify institutional racism with respect to an organization's output. Although this procedure is applied to a single government agency (namely, the National Institute of Mental Health), the procedures described are generalizable to other settings. Fiman uses the Difference Indicators to assess the expected versus the actual outcome with respect to minority participation in organizational settings. Racism exists when there is a discrepancy between the expected outcome and the actual outcome, the expected outcome being based on parity among racial groups. The difference indicator is potentially useful in tracing the changes within an organization over time.

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Chapter 15

Institutional Racism Scale: Assessing Self and Organizational Attributes

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ABSTRACT

The Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) was developed to assess individual perceptions of self and organization. Specifically, it assesses how individuals construe institutional racism, engage in anti-racism, and view organizational commitment to the reduction of racism. Current methods for evaluating racism are reviewed, with emphasis given to those which rely on perceptions of self and organization. The procedure for scale construction and validation is presented, and the scales are used to answer questions related to ethnic (minority and nonminority) and reference group (college students, government and conference groups) differences with respect to the experience of racism. The results show significant differences between minority and nonminority groups in the manner in which they perceive racism, the strategies they use to reduce racism, perceptions of organizational climate, and evaluation of their own behavior and of the behavior of the their organization with respect to reducing racism. Similar differences were obtained on the group level, in that the conference group was strikingly similar to the minority group. In general, the minority and conference groups were more sensitive to occurrences of racism, used more strategies for the reduction of racism, viewed these strategies as more effective, perceived more racism in agency climate, and viewed the behavior of their administrators less favorably than the nonminority and nonconference groups. Suggestions for future use of this scale are described, along with the implication of this research for evaluating racism in organizational settings.

Although definitions of institutional racism are many, reliable measures are rare. Such measures are needed to advance us beyond rhetoric to institutional change. This chapter reviews existing instruments and proposes the use of an organizational model for developing a measure of institutional racism, describing the steps taken to determine the reliability and validity of such a scale. Finally, it explores the effects of minority status and reference group on experience and perception of institutional racism.

Katz and Kahn (1980) begin their scholarly treatise on the social psychological aspects of organizations by noting the pervasive influence of organizations on the lives of most individuals. Because adults and children spend a major portion of their lives in organizations or social institutions, especially those related to work or school, such settings play an important role in shaping their behavior and attitudes.

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Minority groups increasingly have voiced their concerns regarding racial discrimination within organizations. In response, government and industry groups have developed affirmative action guidelines to prevent discrimination and to rectify past injustices. However, charges of discrimination and of reverse discrimination continue, underscoring the need for accurate and reliable ways to assess institutional racism in organizations. Although discrimination, equal opportunity, and affirmative action have become a part of the standard vocabulary of management, assessment of these dimensions of organizational functioning has largely been restricted to anecdotal and descriptive data. Reluctance to develop and to use instruments which gather data on institutional racism in organizations is related to (1) lack of agreement about what constitutes institutional racism; (2) an over reliance on legalistic definitions of racism which are situation specific and liable to shift unpredictably; (3) doubts about whether institutional racism is measurable in a psychometric sense; and (4) fear that evidence of institutional racism will invite legal action against the organization. Though understandable, this reluctance makes systematic intervention difficult.

Assessment Approaches

If interventions in institutional racism are to be successful, they must be based on reliable assessment instruments with relevant content and methodology. With respect to content, organizational assessments focus on attributes of the

organization or attributes of the individuals who comprise the organization. The methodology consists of interviews or questionnaires, or of data on the output of organizations.

Initial approaches to assessing institutional racism relied primarily on the self-reports of individuals. For example, Sedlacek and Brooks (1970) developed the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) to measure racism in educational settings by assessing the attitudes of whites toward blacks. The respondents were asked to use a five-point rating scale to indicate affective reactions to 100 situations, such as a student demonstration. The affective reaction ratings involve semantic differential scales, with such dimensions as good-bad, angry-not angry, safe-unsafe, relaxed-tense, pleased-angered, afraid-secure. Half of the group received questionnaires on which blacks were specified as the agents in the situation, and the other half received no race-relevant information. The authors found that the students in the race-relevant conditions responded more negatively to the situation than students in the race-irrelevant condition.

Claiborne and Taylor (chapter 16, this volume) also measured individual perceptions of racial occurrences with the Racialistic Incidence Inventory (RII). This scale measures awareness of six types of race-related incidents that are overt or covert, individual or institutional, and attitudinal or behavioral. Respondents indicate the extent to which they see prejudice operating in a given instance. Thus, the Racialistic Incidence Inventory gives information about which dimension of racism individuals seem to be sensitive to. Not surprisingly, white college students seem to be least aware of covert institutional racism and most aware of individual overt attitudinal and behavioral forms of racism. Tending to define racism in terms of overt individual acts, whites often are insensitive to the more pervasive, subtle, and institutional forms of racism.

Similarly, Baumgartel et al. (1976) developed the Personal Attitude Inventory (PAI) which measures a range of interpersonal behavior in a variety of organizational and institutional settings. This scale uses a five-point agree-disagree format in a variety of behavioral situations. Items refer, for example, to involvement of minorities in decisionmaking, to discrimination in employment and its effect on housing available to minorities. The broad content focus of the RII, PAI, and the SAS questionnaires make them more useful for general assessments of racism than for measuring institutional racism as it operates within a specific organization; if used alone, they do not yield information that may prove to be useful for organizational change. For example, to assess institutional racism in an educational setting one might include items related to minority curriculum content, quality of facilities and staff for minority and nonminority children; process variables such as respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, use of standardized intelligence tests, fairness of disciplinary action; and output variables such as percentage of minorities graduating, and the percentage prepared to go on to higher education. Responses to these questions provide the information needed for directing change efforts. An additional problem with the measures cited above is that they do not report reliability or validity data. Thus, their usefulness is limited by the lack of a specific focus, the uncertain psychometric properties of the instruments, and the failure to focus on organizational processes which are at the very core of institutional racism.

The major problem with many of these instruments is that they lack a coherent framework. O'Connor (1977a) attempts to provide a theory proposing a social learning model of racism in which discriminatory behavior is maintained by reinforcement available from peers and administrators. This model focuses on a range of individual and organizational behaviors which include exclusion of minorities from decisionmaking, biased performance ratings by supervisors, tokenism, over- or undersupervision, ethnic jokes (slurs), training and promotion opportunities for nonwhites, and an assessment of the work environment with a focus on the quality of interaction, i.e., support and cooperation across racial groups (O'Connor 1977b). It is a model of individual, rather than institutional, racism. The theory on which it is built is a theory of individual, not organizational, behavior because it explains change in terms of contingencies maintaining individual behavior. Organizational processes need to be added to complete this assessment.

Models of Organization

Katz and Kahn (1966) propose a comprehensive model of organizations based on systems theory which emphasizes internal processes and the relationship of the organization to its environment.

This open-systems model analyzes three components of the organization: input, throughput, and output. The input is related to the types of resources the organization receives from the external environment; throughput, to the processes by which the organization uses and acts upon the resources provided; and output, to the products or effects made upon the environment. An important contribution of this theory is its conceptualization of organization-environment relationship as a critical factor in organizational functioning.

For internal processes, Schein (1965) proposes a set of specific procedures for assessing organizational processes, especially communication, decisionmaking, leadership, problem solving, and the reward-support system. Examples of organizational analysis described by Schein involve data collected by an outside and ostensibly objective observer through individual interviews, surveys, and problem-solving sessions conducted within the organization.

In assessing organizations, Perrow (1970) emphasizes organizational roles because they function as primary determinants of behavior in those settings. Perrow assumes that organizational structure and the role derived from the structure provide constraints and possibilities with which the individual must operate. Similarly, the values and goals of an organization influence the character (or climate) of an organization. Thus, organizational analysis ought to attend to the superordinate structure within those structures, where there are even more profound effects on behavior than individual variations in personality (Moos 1976). These analyses of organization suggest that, in effect, institutional racism can be conceptualized as occurring at the input, throughput, or output levels. The throughput is especially important for assessing racism *within* an institutional setting. Measures of organizational climate have been widely used to assess throughput processes in organizations. This approach is particularly relevant because it acknowledges the reciprocal influences of individuals and their organizations which are critical to institutional racism.

James and Jones (1974) summarize three approaches to measuring and defining organizational climate: (1) multiple measurement— organizational attribute approach which regards organizational climate exclusively as a set of organizational attributes or main effects measurable by a variety of methods; (2) the perceptual measurement— organizational attribute approach which views organizational main effects; and (3) the perceptual measurement—individual attribute approach which views organizational climate as "the perceptions of an individual in which most of the variance is accounted for by that individual rather than the organization" (James and Jones 1974, p. 1097).

Perceptions, though influenced by idiosyncracies of the perceiver, are largely influenced and accounted for by characteristics of the organization. Schneider and Hall (1972) emphasize the interactive nature of organizational climate as a:

> set of summary or global perceptions held by an individual about the organization's environment. These summary perceptions reflect an interaction between personal and organizational characteristics. An individual acts as an information processer using inputs from (a) objective events in and characteristics of the organization, and (b) characteristics (e.g., value, needs) of the perceiver (p. 447).

Within this general framework, measures of organizational climate usually assess dimensions such as organizational structure, degree of responsibility, reward system, risk, quality of support and warmth, identity conflict, and performance standards (Litwin and Stringer 1968). In addition, the scales developed by Litwin and Stringer yield several dimensions of the organizational environment relevant to the assessment of institutional racism: (1) perceptions of general affective tone toward other people in the organization; (2) respondent perceptions of management; and (3) communication up the chain of command. Schneider and Bartlett (1970) found general satisfaction and managerial support to be dimensions of climate. Schneider (1975) cautioned that organizational climate should be refined so that it refers to specific classes of effects or aspects of organizational functioning. For example, it is more appropriate to refer to an organization's climate for achievement or climate for affiliation than to the climate in general. In keeping with this caution, this paper addresses the development of a measure to assess an organization's climate for institutional racism. The definition of racism used here is developed extensively in chapter 2.

Assessing Institutional Racism—Method and Content

To a great extent the assessment approaches described above rely on individual perceptions as

the primary source of information. Schneider (1975) describes individual perceptions of organizations as an important data base reflecting attributes of the individual and of the organization itself. For that reason, an approach to institutional racism which concentrates on measuring individual perceptions of the institutional setting may be a particularly valuable method, especially when used in conjunction with other sources of information.

Three dimensions of climate as described above seem to be particularly relevant to the assessment of institutional racism in organizational settings: (1) perceptions of the interpersonal process, that is, attitudes regarding warmth, acceptance, support, and satisfaction, as well as stereotyped behavior or attitudes which interfere with acceptance in that setting; (2) the decisionmaking process, the degree of personal autonomy and involvement on the part of minorities in making decisions regarding the functioning of the organization; and (3) the reward system, recognition, promotion, and career development opportunities available to minority groups in the organization. These three dimensions can be assessed by means of a climate measure from the perspective of individual workers and of management. Furthermore, since climate has been described as an interaction of individual and organizational attributes, it seems useful to assess self-attributes in addition to perceptions of the organization. The addition of data regarding self-attributes may help clarify different perceptions of the same setting. The self-attributes that seem best related to perception of institutional racism in one's organization are awareness of racism and personal involvement in changing racist processes. These dimensions, along with the climate-type scale and an assessment of management involvement in reducing racism, are included in the Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) (see table 1). The procedure for refining this scale is discussed fully in the results.

Table 1. Description of Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) Subscales

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM SCALE (IRS) — The Institutional Racism Scale measures individual perceptions of self- and organizational attributes. It focuses primarily on throughput processes rather than input or output dimensions or organizational functioning.

SELF-ATTRIBUTES

1. *Indices of Racism.* This scale consists of a group of items frequently cited in professional and popular literature as racist. Respondents rate each item on the extent to which they believe it is motivated by racism or produces discriminatory outcomes. It is a useful way to assess an individual's sensitivity to, or awareness of, racism.

2. *Strategies for Reducing Racism—Use.* This scale consists of strategies which require either individual or collective behavior related to the reduction of racism. This list includes activities such as voting, litigation, educating friends, lobbying, and cross-racial interactions. Respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they use these strategies for the purpose of reducing racism. Some of the strategies require no extraordinary activity in that they are part of normal functioning, while others require discrete, concerted, and sometimes collective action.

3. *Strategies for Reducing Racism Effectiveness.* This scale consists of similar items which are rated with respect to their effectiveness in reducing racism.

4. *Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism.* This scale consists of 20 semantic differential ratings used to evaluate personal behavior with respect to reducing racism. The scale presents a picture of how actively and favorably individuals perceive themselves in reducing racism.

ORGANIZATIONAL ATTRIBUTES

5. *Agency Climate (for Racism).* This scale consists of statements relating to policies and procedures of the organization. The items are based on three dimensions of organizational climate: interpersonal processes, decisionmaking processes, and the reward system as it relates to career development opportunities for minorities. Specifically, this scale assesses the acceptance of minorities, participation by minorities in decisionmaking, and a respect for cultural diversity.

6. *Management Efforts To Reduce Racism.* This scale uses a semantic-differential format similar to the ratings of Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism. It is patterned after scales developed by Mitchell (1978) to evaluate management involvement in program evaluation. This scale assesses how workers perceive management involvement in reducing racism. It includes items that relate both to the level of activity and to the effectiveness of that activity.

Race, Role, and Perception of Racism

In using a measure of institutional racism, it seems useful to understand how race and reference group factors affect the experience of racism. Assumptions about the homogeneity of effects with respect to these groups may lead to incorrect interpretations of results obtained from diverse groups. Pfeifer and Schneider (1974) examined black students' and white students' perceptions of the university climate and found differences in the way the two groups view and organize their attitudes toward the environment. Blacks perceived the social environment less favorably than whites. Blacks also made finer distinctions than whites in separating the notions of personal and institutional forms of racism. In all, racism, especially institutional racism, is a more salient feature of the environment for blacks than for whites.

Similarly, Nordlie (1974), using the Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire (EPQ) to evaluate race relations and equal opportunity programs in the military, found discernible and pervasive differences in the perceptions held by blacks and whites, with blacks reporting a much higher level of racial discrimination both within and outside the military. Discrimination was reported most frequently in relation to career development and the military justice system. Both minority and white soldiers at the enlisted level felt that there was only minimal acceptance of race relations and equal opportunity principles by midlevel officers, even though vocal support of these principles occurred at the highest level of the organization. In summary, Pfiefer and Schneider demonstrated that minorities are more sensitive to institutional racism in organizational settings. Nordlie has shown that, for minorities, suspicion regarding the behavior of management with respect to altering discrimination accompanies perceptions of racism in the organization generally.

In this same evaluation, Nordlie developed a discrimination indicator which was designed to serve as an outcome rather than a process measure of institutional racism. Fifty-eight quantitative indicators of institutional racism were derived by comparing the actual number of minorities having particular characteristics with the number that one would expect were there no differences associated with skin color. An attempt was made to control mathematically for mediating factors such as education. These discrimination indicators related to variables such as the racial composition of the army and distribution of personnel across ranks. Analyses of these data suggest a rapidly increasing overrepresentation of minorities, especially blacks, in the enlisted grades with no corresponding change in the underrrepresentation of minority officers. The enlisted personnel were overrepresented slightly in lower grades, overrepresented in middle grades, and underrepresented in the highest grades. Similarly, minority officers were underrepresented in lower ranks, overrepresented in middle ranks, and grossly underrepresented in higher ranks. Also, minority officers are underrepresented among general and executive officers and overrepresented in supply, procurement, etc. In addition, there is a strong relationship between minority status and the type of discharge received, which shows a consistent disadvantage for minorities. Minorities are slightly overrepresented by 15 percent among those receiving dishonorable discharges. These outcome measures of discrimination essentially support the data from the EPQ.

The data provided by Nordlie (1974) suggest that minorities and nonminorities view their organization in different ways. Minorities report more frequent occurrences of racism than nonminorities and consequently are much more aware of racism both within and outside of their organizations. Pfiefer and Schneider (1974) conclude that minorities have a more refined understanding of racism. For minorities, racism as a construct may be more comprehensive, i.e., include more elements than it does for whites. As a result, minorities are expected to manifest a greater sensitivity to subtle, institutional forms of racism, a differential sensitivity likely to be reflected in perceptions of personal behavior, the work environment, and the behavior of management with respect to racism. Consequently, racial differences are expected in how racism is construed, in the level of activities to reduce racism, and in evaluations of administrator commitment to reduction of racism.

Moos (1976) and others argue that organizations have an important socializing influence and that the quality and direction of this influence vary with the character or climate of the organization. If so, there should be differences among the reference groups drawn from organizations which have presumed differences in climate, and reference groups should be related to how members of those groups perceive and act upon racism. The influence of group or organizational membership is such that it creates an atmosphere which encourages or suppresses active expression of *anti-racist* attitudes and behaviors designed to alleviate the problems associated with racism. For that reason, we expect differences in the way a government group, a student group, and racism conference attendees construe racism and view their organization's involvement in institutional racism. There is little basis, however, for predicting the direction of these differences.

On the basis of the work reviewed, a measure was developed to assess how individuals perceive institutional racism operating in a specific setting. The dimension included in the measure relates to individual and organizational attributes. The self-attributes include conceptions of what constitutes institutional racism and perceptions of personal behavior toward occurrences of racism. Organiza-

tional attributes include perceptions of the work climate with respect to racism and evaluations of the behavior of responsible persons in the organization with respect to reducing racism. Differences expected between minority and nonminority groups on these measures are that minorities are more aware of racism, use more strategies, evaluate these strategies and their own behavior more favorably, and view their organization's climate and management involvement in reducing racism more disparagingly than nonminorities. Similarly, differences are predicted among reference groups on the same measures.

Methods

Measures. In its original form, the Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) consisted of six subscales designed to cover each of the basic attitude components regarding institutional racism mentioned earlier.

1. *Indices of Racism* consisted of a 15-item scale designed to assess an individual's sensitivity to institutional racism. Individuals completing the scale were asked to rate items describing potentially racist practices (e.g., "personnel selection based on written tests" and "seniority as a major criteria for promotion") according to the extent to which they felt the items served as an index of institutional racism (1 = not at all, 7 = most sensitive).
2. *Effectiveness of Strategies To Reduce Racism.*
3. *Use of Strategies To Reduce Racism* consisted of a list of 12 interventions (e.g., voting, lobbying, educating) which respondents first rated on a four-point scale, indicating the effectiveness of that strategy in reducing racism (poor to excellent) and, second, indicated the extent to which they personally used the strategy (1 = never, 5 = very frequently).
4. *Agency Climate for Racism Scale* consisted of 16 items designed to measure the extent to which the leadership structure and interpersonal atmosphere of an agency's policies could be viewed as racist, items such as "The community, especially the poor and minority groups, have little to say about decisions which affect functioning" and "The organization goes out of its way to make minorites feel at home." Respondents rated items along a seven-point scale, indicating the extent to which they felt the statement characterized their agency.
5. *Administrative Efforts To Reduce Racism*
6. *Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism* were designed to assess individuals' perception of their own and their administrators' efforts to reduce racism. Respondents completed 26 semantic differential ratings which included both activity and evaluation dimensions.

Participants. Three separate groups of individuals participated in the study. The first group consisted of 56 individuals from educational, religious, and mental health agencies who attended a 3-day conference on institutional racism. The second group was composed of employees of a single Federal agency of varying grade levels in nonservice occupations. The third group consisted of 48 students enrolled in an undergraduate community psychology class who participated in the study for course credit. Participants were classified as minorities when they identified themselves as Afro-American, Asian-American, American Indian, or Latinos. Most of the minorities in the sample were Afro-American.

Administrative Procedures. Administrative procedures differed somewhat for each of the three groups. Subjects in the conference group were given the questionnaire and asked to complete the IRS both prior to and following the conference on institutional racism, with a 3-day interval separating pre- and post-test administrations. Attendees were informed that the IRS was part of a battery used to evaluate the impact of the conference.

Administration of the questionnaire to government subjects was done on an individual basis with 2-3 month intervals separating pre- and post-test administrations. In addition to completion of the IRS, subjects in the government group were asked to indicate actual instances of racism which had occurred in their work setting, and expectations about the reduction of racism, which could serve as valid measures of institutional racism against which IRS subscales could later be compared.

Finally, administration of the IRS to the student group was conducted in a group setting, with subjects taking the IRS after a course examination. As with the government group, there was approxi-

mately a 2-month interval separating administration of the pre- and post-tests. Subjects in this group were also given a brief questionnaire following completion of the post-test. The questionnaire was designed to solicit comments concerning perceived weaknesses and/or ambiguities of the measure, as well as the extent to which the IRS had stimulated further thinking about institutional racism. The questionnaire also asked the degree to which respondents were required to think seriously about the topic of racism in order to complete the IRS.

Instrument Development. Administration of the original measure raised questions concerning the appropriateness and/or wording of some of the IRS items, as well as concerns about the length of time required to complete the IRS. As a consequence, a decision was made to reduce the ambiguity and length of the IRS by eliminating items. The steps taken in developing this measure are described in detail below, providing guidelines for development of similar instruments by others. The psychometric properties of most institutional racism scales are rarely described in the literature. The description of refinement procedures is intended to serve two purposes: to provide information about the reliabilty and validity of the IRS and to provide a model for the development of similar instruments.

Reliability. Decisions to retain or delete an item were based on the following criteria: (1) item test-retest reliability; (2) the intercorrelation of given items with their scale means; and (3) the experimenters' judgments (based, in part, on feedback from individuals who had taken the questionnaire) concerning the appropriateness and/or ambiguity of the items.

It was hoped that the criteria would result in selection of item groupings which would have maximal consistency of response over time (i.e., test-retest reliability) as well as homogeneity of the items with respect to concepts being measured (i.e., internal consistency reliability). Items were selected to maximize the possibility that the final scale would have high test-retest and internal consistency reliability for groups other than the one on which the revised measure was developed.

Members of the government and student groups, for whom both pre- and post-test measures were available, were pooled into one group. These participants were then randomly divided into two groups, the first used in the measurement revision process, leaving the second group free to serve as a cross-validation group. Using group I to revise the scale allowed the use of group II to determine whether revision of the scales would result in similarly high levels of test-retest and internal consistency reliabilities.

Conference attendees were excluded from the revision process on the grounds that administration of pre- and post-tests differed with respect to the time interval between administration (i.e., a 3-day interval for conference attendees as compared with a 2-month interval for individuals in government and student groups) and on the grounds that conference attendees had been exposed to a 3-day meeting dealing with institutional racism within a pre-test, post-test interval. Participation in the conference may have affected responses to the post-test measure and, hence, could potentially have confounded test-retest reliabilities.

Next, Kuder Richardson-14 (KR-14) internal consistency and Pearson test-retest correlations were computed for group I's responses (i.e., responses of half of the government and student groups randomly selected for the purposes of scale development) to each of the six subscales. Examination of the results suggested adopting the following criteria for item rejection: Items with a test-retest reliability of $r = .30$ or less or intercorrelation with their scale mean of .15 or less would be automatically eliminated from their respective scales.

While an item could be rejected on the basis of test-retest correlations only at the beginning of the analysis process, as test reorganization has no impact on an item's test-retest reliability, each scale revision (by virtue of the fact that it contains a different grouping of items) creates a new scale mean and, hence, a new set of item correlations with that mean.

The above procedure worked satisfactorily for all subscales with the exception of the Indices of Racism Scale which, in spite of revisions, continued to have poor internal consistency. Therefore, a decision was made to revise the scoring procedures for this scale and to simply count the number of items receiving a positive response (i.e., a score of 5 or greater) and to use that number as the final score for the scale. As with other subscales, items with a test-retest correlation of .30 or less were dropped from the scale.

Following completion of revisions the scales were applied to group II, and internal and test-retest reliabilities were computed for each subscale. The results of the initial group (group I) and

cross-validation group (group II) reliabilites are presented in table 2.

Table 2. Test-Retest and KR-14 internal consistency estimates for initial and validation groups

Measure		Test-retest correlations		Internal consistency estimates	
		Group 1	Group 2	Group 1	Group 2
Indices of racism	r	.6014	.5495	*	*
	(N)	(28)	(32)		
Effectiveness of strategies	r	.8042	.7518	.678	.690
	(N)	(26)	(25)	(30)	(31)
Use of strategies	r	.6977	.6352	.7170	.7310
	(N)	(14)	(15)	(26)	(25)
Personal efforts	r	.6541	.7898	.9010	.8720
	(N)	(22)	(26)	(25)	(28)
Agency policies	r	.5763	.6472	.7680	.7730
	(N)	(23)	(26)	(25)	(22)
Administrative efforts	r	.8037	.7910	.9340	.9370
	(N)	(20)	(22)	(24)	(27)

*Note—Internal Consistencies were not computed for Indices of Racism, as this measure was simply a count of the number of items receiving a positive response (i.e., rating of six or above).

Examination of the results suggests that the measurement revision process was, for the most part, successful. Internal consistency reliabilities for both the original and cross-validation groups were high, ranging from $r = .717$ to $r = .937$. Test-retest correlations were somewhat lower, however, with test-retest reliability for group I on the Agency Climate scale and group II on the Indices of Racism Scale being $r = .5763$ and $r = .5495$, respectively. In addition, there were six test-retest reliabilities falling in the $r = .60$ to $r = .70$ range. While lower than the internal consistency reliabilities, the test-retest reliabilities are still sufficiently high to suggest some degree of consistency in response pattern over time, especially in view of the 2-month interval separating pre- and post-test administration.

Final Instrument. The final instrument, presented in its entirety in appendix A, consists of 72 items, a reduction of 35 items from its original form. In its final form the Indices of Racism subscale has been pared to a length of 8 items, the Effectiveness of Strategies subscale to 11, Use of Strategies to 7, Agency Climate to 6, and the Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism and Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism subscales have been reduced to 20 items each. The intercorrelations among the subscales are presented in appendix B and the means for each item are presented in appendix C.

Results

Subsequent to measurement revision, analyses were performed aimed at (1) providing a better understanding of a validation for the IRS, and (2) using the IRS to determine how people conceptualize institutional racism. The following are the results of these analyses.

Reliabilities for Homogeneous Groups. As test-retest and internal consistency reliabilities were initially computed and cross-validated on heterogeneous samples, it was necessary to determine the extent to which subtest test-retest and internal consistency reliabilities would hold up when computed for homogeneous samples. The responses of all persons who had completed pre-test questionnaires were therefore broken down according to their respective reference groups (i.e., conference, government, and student) and internal consistency reliabilities were computed for each group. These respondents were then reorganized by racial group (minority and nonminority) and internal consistency correlations computed for each group.

A similar procedure was followed for test-retest correlations, with the exception that only those individuals who had completed both pre- and post-test measurements were included in the analysis. Again, participants were broken down into groups on the basis of reference and racial group membership, with test-retest correlations being computed for each group. Table 3 includes a complete listing of all test-retest and internal consistency correlations for subscales by reference and racial groupings.

Examination of table 3 and comparison of these results with results from initial and cross-validation groups indicates that differences clearly exist between original and cross-validation group reliabilities (computed on heterogeneous samples) and reliabilities computed on homogeneous samples. Homogeneous groups also differ in the magnitude

Table 3. Test-Retest and KR-14 internal consistency correlations by racial and reference groups

Measure		Test-retest correlations					Internal consistency correlations				
		Minority	Nonminority	Conference	Government	Student	Minority	Nonminority	Conference	Government	Student
Indices of racism	r	.3880	.5984	.4933	.7225	.5222	a	a	a	a	a
	(N)	(16)	48	8	23	37					
Effectiveness of strategies	r	.655	.805	.870	.650	.793	.555	.560	.572	.261	.673
	(N)	(13)	42	7	19	32	45	71	49	41	41
Use of strategies	r	.789	.685	.347	.695	.549	.685	.723	.550	.482	.761
	(N)	(9)	27	9	18	11	40	60	44	34	35
Personal efforts	r	.849	.737	.983	.796	.699	.831	.905	.854	.882	.907
	(N)	(11)	(42)	(7)	(17)	(22)	42	65	39	41	37
Agency policies	r	.606	.664	.952	.705	.604	.788	.722	.862	.686	.731
	(N)	(13)	39	6	19	31	37	64	38	37	38
Administrative efforts	r	.719	.733	.968	.851	.692	.926	.937	.945	.914	.946
	(N)	(8)	37	5	19	25	33	66	35	39	36

a - Internal consistencies were not computed for Indices of Racism, as this measure was simply a count of the items receiving a positive response (i.e., rating of six or above).

Table 4. Correlation of scales with face valid measures of racism

Measure		Spontaneous report of racist incidents	Identification of racist practices from a list	Hope for change
Indices of racism	r	.326	.506**	−.196
	(N)	(25)	(25)	(25)
Effectiveness of strategies	r	.102	.218	−.210
	(N)	(21)	(21)	(21)
Use of strategies	r	.382	−.399**	.407*
	(N)	(10)	(19)	(19)
Personal efforts	r	.163	.295	−.386*
	(N)	(24)	(21)	(21)
Agency policies	r	.525**	.439*	.317
	(N)	(25)	(25)	(25)
Administrative efforts	r	−.427*	−.255	−.511*
	(N)	(19)	(19)	(19)

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$

of their test-retest and internal consistency reliability when compared with other homogeneous groups.

This conclusion is supported by the difference between internal consistency correlations computed for original and cross-validation groups on the Effectiveness of Strategies subscale ($r = .717$ and $r = .731$, respectively) and the same internal consistency correlation computed for the government group ($r = .482$). This is demonstrated by differences in internal consistency between homogeneous samples on this same scale, with internal consistency reliabilities ranging from $r = .482$ for the government group to $r = .761$ for the student group.

Such variation in internal consistency may mean that the Effectiveness of Strategies subscale is a poor measure when applied to certain subgroups, such as the government group. Since the subscale was previously shown to have good internal consistency, these same results may also be interpreted as the government group's conceptualizing and using strategies to reduce racism differently from the other groups. The former interpretation has implications for the validity of the scale, while the latter suggests that unexpectedly poor internal

consistency in itself may be an indication of differences in evaluation of these strategies.

Finally, it should be noted in passing that special attention should be given comparisons involving test-retest reliabilities for the conference group, as individuals in this group had only a 3-day, as opposed to a 2-month, interval separating pre- and post-test administration. Also, these individuals attended a conference on institutional racism in the interim. Thus, the conference may have influenced individuals' responses to the post-questionnaire and thereby affected test-retest reliabilities.

Validation of IRS Subtests. To determine if IRS subscales correlated in predictable ways with valid measures of racism, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between IRS subscales and the three questions asked of the government sample regarding racist practices in their respective agencies.

The results indicated a signficant positive relationship between the number of racist incidents people spontaneously report as having taken place in their agency and scores on the Agency Climate subscale and the number of items identified from a list of potential racist practices ($r = .439$). These results are presented in table 4.

There was a negative correlation between the number of racist incidents people spontaneously reported and scores on the Administrative Efforts subscale representing people's perception of administrative efforts to reduce racism ($r = .427$). In addition, a positive correlation was found between people's self-report of their use of different strategies to reduce racism, as measured by the Use of Strategies subscale, and their hopefulness for change in their agency regarding racist practices ($r = .407$).

The data with respect to validity of the Indices of Racism subscale, were not as strong, as indicated by the positive but nonsignificant correlation between the Indices subscale and the number of racist incidents people spontaneously reported ($r = .326$, $p = .056$). A second correlation between the indices subscale and the number of items identified from a list of racist practices ($r = .506$) was, however, significant.

Thus, it can be construed from the above that support exists for the validity of the Indices of Racism, Use of Strategies, and Organizational Attributes, such as Agency and Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism subscales, based on the correlation of these scales with valid measures of racism.

There were other correlations not predicted by a prior hypothesis: a significant negative correlation between the Use of Strategies subscale and the number of items identified from a list of racist practices ($r = .399$), suggesting that, the more an individual uses strategies to reduce racism, the fewer racist incidents occur in an organization. There was also a significant negative correlation between evaluations of personal efforts to reduce racism and optimism about the agency's capacity to alter racism practices ($r = -.386$). Finally, there was a somewhat puzzling negative correlation between perceptions of administrative efforts to reduce racism and optimism about change ($r = .511$), indicating that favorable perceptions of administrative efforts were associated with pessimism about the likelihood of institutional change.

Analyses. Analyses were run on the revised subscales to provide information on how people conceptualize institutional racism. Analyses were run on pre-test measures only, and all individuals who had completed a pre-test administration of the IRS were included.

Two major sets of analyses were conducted: the first to determine if differences existed in the way in which minority and nonminority groups viewed racism, and the second to determine if any differences existed in the way in which people from different reference groups (i.e., conference, government, and student) conceptualized racism. Means broken down by racial and reference groups as well as t's for racial group differences are presented in table 5.

With the exception of the predictions about minorities, no a priori hypotheses were made regarding the reference groups and the ways in which the dimensions measured by the IRS would interact, with the result that many comparisons were made to determine what relationships existed. Possibly some significant relationships may result through chance fluctuation or idiosyncracies in the particular sample measured. However, the number of significant relationships (23 out of 78 comparisons, in contrast to four expected on the basis of chance) as well as the general pattern of the relationships suggest that chance variation alone cannot account for these findings.

RACIAL differences. Significant differences were found between minority and nonminority groups as

Table 5. Scale scores by racial and reference groups

Scale and group	Minority	Nonminority	Total reference groups	*t* values Racial group differences
Indices of racism				
Conference				
Mean	5.360	6.231	5.438	1.4698
Number	(25)	(13)	(48)	df = 36
Government				
Mean	4.375	3.720	3.872	1.1625
Number	(16)	(25)	(41)	df = 39
Student				
Mean	5.000	3.216	3.500	2.2.55*
Number	(7)	(37)	(44)	df = 42
Total racial groups				
Mean	4.979	3.467	4.295	2.8112**
Number	(48)	(75)	(139)	df = 121
Effectiveness of strategies				
Conference				
Mean	3.040	3.114	3.040	.3569
Number	(26)	(12)	(50)	df = 36
Government				
Mean	3.121	2.881	2.975	1.9115
Number	(12)	(23)	(40)	df = 33
Student				
Mean	3.273	2.848	2.915	2.1850*
Number	(7)	(37)	(44)	df = 42
Total racial groups				
Mean	3.104	2.903	9.980	2.3021*
Number	(45)	(72)	(134)	df = 115
Uses of strategies				
Conference				
Mean	3.121	3.190	3.092	.3598
Number	(26)	(12)	(48)	df = 36
Government				
Mean	3.208	2.312	2.247	.4404
Number	(11)	(22)	(37)	df = 31
Student				
Mean	3.000	2.329	2.440	1.8802
Number	(6)	(30)	(36)	df = 34
Total racial groups				
Mean	2.870	2.484	2.640	2.6047*
Number	(43)	(64)	(121)	df = 105
Personal efforts				
Conference				
Mean	4.591	4.386	4.491	.8605
Number	(22)	(11)	(39)	df = 31
Government				
Mean	4.581	4.427	4.517	.7155
Number	(13)	(24)	(41)	df = 35

Table 5. Scale scores by racial and reference groups (Continued)

Scale and group	Minority	Nonminority	Total reference groups	t values Racial group differences
Student				
Mean	4.050	4.433	4.361	1.2699
Number	(7)	(30)	(37)	df = 35
Total racial groups				
Mean	4.498	4.423	4.455	.5673
Number	(42)	(65)	(117)	df = 105
Agency policies				
Conference				
Mean	4.246	3.708	4.019	1.0170
Number	(23)	(12)	(43)	df = 33
Government				
Mean	4.923	3.871	4.220	2.8406**
Number	(13)	(22)	(41)	df = 33
Student				
Mean	4.524	3.172	3.408	3.4438***
Number	(7)	(33)	(40)	df = 38
Total racial groups				
Mean	4.496	3.498	3.888	4.2721***
Number	(43)	(67)	(124)	df = 108
Administrative efforts				
Conference				
Mean	3.426	3.450	3.477	.0548
Number	(19)	(10)	(35)	df = 27
Government				
Mean	3.336	4.013	3.882	2.6377*
Number	(11)	(23)	(30)	df = 32
Student				
Mean	3.050	3.841	3.775	1.4814
Number	(3)	(33)	(36)	df = 34
Total racial groups				
Mean	3.362	3.842	3.718	2.5082*
Number	(33)	(66)	(110)	df = 97

*$p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$
***$p \leq .001$

a whole on all subscales with the exception of Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism. Minorities perceived a greater number of items as indices of institutional racism (4.5 vs. 3.9), used more strategies to reduce racism (2.8 vs. 2.4), viewed these strategies as more effective (3.1 vs. 2.9), perceived their organization as more disposed toward institutional racism (Agency Climate—4.4 vs. 3.4), and rated the efforts of their administrators less favorably (3.3 vs. 3.8) than did nonminorities.

In the conference group alone, differences between racial groups failed to reach significance. Significant differences between minorities and nonminorities in the government group were found

only on subscales relating to their work setting, that is, on Agency Climate and Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism. Differences between minorities and nonminorities for the student group were found on the Indices of Racism, Effectiveness of Strategies, Use of Strategies and Agency Climate subscales, but not on Administrative or Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism.

In no instance, either individually by reference group or with reference groups combined, was a significant difference found between minority and nonminority groups in response to the Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism subscale. Thus, while there were significant differences with respect to minority and nonminority groups in parameters of racism, there were no significant differences in people's perception of their own actions designed to eliminate racism.

REFERENCE groups. Examination of conceptualizations of racism by reference group indicates that reference groups differ in their pattern of response to issues dealing with racism. T-tests for differences between means of reference groups are presented in table 6.

Individuals in the conference group generally appeared to be more sensitive to issues of racism than were other groups. Scores of conference attendees were significantly higher than both government and student respondents on both the Indices of Racism and Use of Strategies subscales and significantly higher than the student respondents on the Agency Climate subscale.

When examined separately by racial group membership, however, significant differences between conference, government, and student respondents disappear for the minority group but are maintained, with one exception (the Agency Climate subscale), in the nonminority group, suggesting that reference group is a more important indication of response pattern for nonminority than for minority groups.

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to devise an instrument to assess individual perceptions of self- and organizational attributes with respect to institutional racism. Scales were developed to measure the manner in which individuals construe racism, the variety of behaviors used personally to alter racism, the effectiveness of those behaviors, and the manner in which individuals evaluate their own efforts to reduce racism. Scales were developed to assess perceptions of the agency's climate with respect to racism and the level and quality of administrators' efforts to eliminate racism. The final scales were refined from a larger instrument so that internal consistency and test-retest reliability reached acceptable levels. In addition, this research tested widely held notions about race and reference groups as important determinants of an individual's experience of institutional racism.

Since institutional racism is a subtle and indirect phenomenon whose detection is often based on inductive or attributional process, it is important to understand how individuals define it. The results of this study show that the components of racism are different for minorities and nonminorities. Although no assessment was made in this study of the qualitative nature of these differences, it is clear that minorities tend to detect elements of racism on more occasions and in more aspects of life than whites. While this heightened sensitivity to racism may be viewed by skeptics as an overreaction, it is reasonable to expect that minorities, as the victims of racist behavior, should experience its effects more poignantly than whites who may be affected only indirectly. Moreover, since this society is based on egalitarian principles which ostensibly are incompatible with racism, it may be more difficult for whites to acknowledge systemic racism in the use of standardized tests on the basis of which determinations are made about "merit" and job-fitness of individuals. Instead, whites tend to attribute differential outcomes of such practices to factors other than institutional racism (Gaertner and Dovidio 1977).

Differences in sensitivity to racism are also reflected in the manner in which minorities and nonminorities view the behaviors for reduction of racism. Specifically, minorities tend to employ a greater number of strategies, such as voting, lobbying, demonstrating, and educating friends, for the purpose of reducing racism. Similarly, they are more likely than whites to view these strategies as effective. However, in spite of their more frequent use of these strategies, minorities do not evaluate their own efforts to reduce racism more favorably than those of whites. In effect, minorities are more active but feel no more involved in combating racism than whites perceive themselves to be. It is likely that minorities and whites operate under different expectations and consequently use different standards to evaluate their own behavior with

Table 6. *t*-Tests for differences between reference groups

Scale and group	Minority		Nonminority		Combined groups	
	Gov't	Student	Gov't	Student	Gov't	Student
Indices						
Conference	1.803 df = 39	.462 df = 30	4.102*** df = 36	4.989*** df = 48	4.105*** df = 93	4.675*** df = 90
Government		.8621 df = 21		1.000 df = 60		.930 df = 89
Effectiveness of strategies						
Conference	.447 df = 36	1.041 df = 31	1.520 df = 33	1.642 df = 47	.692 df = 88	1.217 df = 92
Government		.807 df = 17		.295 df = 58		.629 df = 82
Use of strategies						
Conference	4.450 df = 35	.450 df = 30	3.946*** df = 32	3.385** df = 40	6.636*** df = 83	4.306*** df = 82
Government		2.210* df = 15		.082 df = 50		1.139 df = 71
Personal efforts						
Conference	.0468 df = 33	2.074* df = 27	.181 df = 39	.181 df = 39	.187 df = 78	.836 df = 74
Government		1.700 df = 18		.034 df = 52		1.030 df = 76
Agency policies						
Conference	.383 df = 34	.456 df = 28	.395 df = 32	1.461 df = 43	.691 df = 62	2.271* df = 81
Government		.710 df = 78		2.761** df = 53		3.240** df = 79
Administrative efforts						
Conference	.237 df = 24	.549 df = 20	1.818 df = 31	1.666 df = 41	1.831 df = 71	1.240 df = 69
Government		.732 df = 12		.756 df = 54		.554 df = 73

*$p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$
***$p \leq .001$

respect to racism. It is possible that blacks report using more strategies for reducing racism because many of the activities included in this scale, such as voting, are not extraordinary or beyond the normal range of behavior of most adults. Since racial discrimination is a dominant factor in the lives of minority peoples, they may view many of their normal activities as indirectly contributing to the struggle against racism. Thus, many activities related to political process, interpersonal relationships, and even, in some cases, extraordinary activities such as lobbying may be directed at insuring basic freedoms and opportunities for themselves, and the racial dimension may be a dominant factor in the voting patterns, contributions to organizations, etc. The racial differences in the number of strategies used to reduce racism probably can be attributed to minorities' associating many of these ordinary behaviors in a general way with efforts to combat racism, while for whites, similar behaviors

may not be intended to serve the same purpose.

Because many of the behaviors reported are not dramatic or extraordinary, but simply a part of daily living, minorities may not view them as noteworthy. Therefore, these actions do not contribute to minorities' image of themselves as actively involved in a collective civil rights struggle oriented toward system change, such as litigation, picketing, or demonstrations. For minorities, then, the criterion for a high level of activity may be sustained involvement in some cultural, political or educational movement with the goal of improving the life conditions of minority peoples. For whites, a high level of activity may simply be an acknowledgement of race discrimination as a problem and the use of commonly available tools, such as voting, to reduce its impact. Thus, different levels of activity and involvement may, in fact, lead to identical evaluations of behavior and perceptions of activity levels. In summary, although minorities view racism and the means for dealing with racist behavior in a different way from nonminorities, there is little evidence that minorities and nonminorities evaluate their activities differently with respect to reducing racism.

Although minorities and nonminorities may not evaluate themselves differently, they do view the behavior and climate of their organization in very different manners; specifically, minorities tend to experience their organizations as more disposed toward racism and make less favorable ratings of administrators' effort to reduce racism than do nonminorities. Minorities view their agency as having a predisposition toward racism in that it fails to involve minorities in decisionmaking processes and to provide career development opportunities for them. Accompanying these perceptions are beliefs that the organization is not doing what it can to reduce overt and covert forms of racism. It is likely that whites do not directly deny the existence of these conditions, but they may attribute them to factors other than discrimination. For example, whites may argue that minorities are not involved in the leadership of organizations because they do not have the necessary education or capabilities.

The conference group was more aware of institutional racism and tended to use strategies to reduce racism more frequently than did either the student group or the government group. However, there was no significant difference in the extent to which they viewed these strategies as effective, nor was there evidence that reference group made a difference with respect to how one viewed and evaluated personal activities or the activities of administrators in reducing racism. The conference group did not perceive the climate of their respective agencies as more conducive to institutional racism than did the student group. If attendance at a conference devoted entirely to institutional racism can be interpreted as commitment to dealing with social issues such as racism, these findings suggest that individuals, whether minority or nonminority, who are committed to social justice and to dealing actively with institutional racism, tend to be more sensitive to occurrences of racism and more active in using a variety of strategies to reduce it. However, committed groups, as represented by the conference attendees, do not necessarily feel that these efforts are adequate to deal with the pervasive problems of racism. Furthermore, the relatively low effectiveness ratings and the absence of differences among reference groups suggest that even committed individuals may perceive institutional racism as such a complex and difficult problem that relatively few interventions available at the individual level will bring about meaningful change.

Although there were no differences among the three reference groups in the extent to which they rated the efforts of their own administrators to reduce racism, all groups perceived themselves as more active and their activities as qualitatively better than those of their administrators. The discrepancy between self-activities and organizational efforts is particularly great in the conference or committed group.

The effects of role and race interact: For example, all of the differences in the responses between minority and nonminority groups disappeared when the conference group alone was examined. That is, the white conference attendees had similar perceptions of their own behavior and the behavior of their organizations with respect to racism and construed racism in a manner similar to the minority conference attendees, which suggests that personal experience of racism is not a prerequisite for a keen awareness of racism and its effects. Furthermore, it represents a favorable omen or sign of hope for those concerned about eliminating racism. As Knowles and Prewitt (1969) note, meaningful change will not come about until whites acknowledge and deal with racism.

This study began with an effort to understand how individuals construe institutional racism and

how they act in response to its occurrence. Attempts to establish reliability of this measure produced useful information about how different groups structure these concepts. Even though the Institutional Racism Scale was shown to have reasonably good test-retest reliability, several estimates of internal consistency reliability dropped considerably when reliability was assessed according to specific reference groups. Hence, race and reference group may be relevant factors in determining experience and construction of institutional racism. Although reliability is generally interpreted as an index of the stability of a measure, group variations in reliability on a measure suggests that the construct is viewed differently by the different groups.

The test-retest reliabilities further suggest that although there is an acceptable level of stability in the concept over a 2-month period, test taking may have reactive effects. For example, the student group reported that completion of the IRS required much thought and stimulated additional thinking even after test administration. These reactive effects were more than likely reflected in post-test responses. This has important implications for experimental studies which employ a pre-post design. Too often the effects of reactivity are ignored. Findings emphasize the importance of no treatment controls, use of alternate forms, multiple measures, and process questions which directly assess the effects of the questionnaire itself.

The Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) is a reliable measure of how individuals construe racism, of self-perceptions with respect to changing or altering racist practices, and perceptions of agency climate. The subscales of the IRS have good reliability, and the validity of these scales is supported by their strong relationship with other measures of institutional racism employed in this study. This study used individuals as the unit of analysis. Other research dealing with climate has used setting as the unit for analysis, the score for each setting being the average response of individual members.

The next step in the development of this measure is to apply it across many settings, using the environment rather than the individual as the unit of analysis. Data regarding validity can be strengthened by assessing the relationship between throughput and output characteristics of the setting with the IRS. The use of the IRS in this study to assess individual perceptions is legitimate in that this approach is the most likely strategy of small organizations interested in assessing their status on racism.

Again, the IRS focuses primarily on processes rather than outputs. In addition, it provides global ratings that may require the addition of agency-specific items before a prescription for change can be developed. Thus, the IRS should be used in conjunction with other sources of data about agency functioning as described by Nordle (1974) in the difference indicators. Items specific to that organization's situation ought to be added. The IRS may be helpful in human services education, business, and a variety of organizations in understanding whether and how members of the organization perceive institutional racism operating within their agency, especially in regard to acceptance of minorities, minority participation in decisionmaking, and the agency's efforts to reduce racism. This instrument may also be useful in evaluation research designed to measure the effects of human relations or equal opportunity programs of an organization.

Racial and reference group differences in the perception of racism may have important implication for organizational functioning which ought to be explored in subsequent studies. For example, perceptions by minorities of organizations as racist or as not involving or supporting them may decrease productivity and satisfaction in that setting. Perception of management as noncommittal or indifferent may be related to lack of commitment to the organization, beliefs about inequities in the reward system, and pessimism about institutional change.

Thus, an atmosphere of mistrust is created which may eventually characterize the crossracial interactions. Subsequent research should attempt to determine whether perception of racism, especially in the agency climate and managerial behavior, mediates factors such as interpersonal trust, job efficiency and stability, cross-racial cooperation, and role satisfaction. The next phase of research should investigate the effects of interventions such as affirmative action programs on the perception of racism and the behaviors these perceptions mediate.

If future research related to racism is to be helpful, longitudinal designs must be employed because people change very slowly; organizations change even more slowly. By using time-series measurements we can accurately assess the impact of social interventions on organizations and

agencies. This approach is especially needed because we have few baselines or standards against which to compare or quantify institutional racism, let alone measure change. Few people expect that racism will ever be completely eliminated, but we have little idea of what unhealthy levels of racism are or at what point racism becomes intolerable and debilitating. Efforts in this direction may help us to predict, to understand, and to intervene.

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Appendix A. Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) Part I

Instructions

Please answer each question describing as accurately as possible yourself, your attitudes, and your perceptions. Feel free to add any additional information in the margin which might clarify your response. Most responses require only a check.

Indices of Racism

To what extent do you consider the following an indication of institutional racism?

(Circle one)	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Neutral	A good index	Very sensitive	Most sensitive
1. Seniority as a major criteria for promotion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Disproportionally high suspension rates or flunk-out rates of minority students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Formation of separate minority businesses, caucuses, or organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Low level of knowledge on the part of minority populations about organizational events and opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Use of standardized reading tests for promotion in high school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Personnel selection based on written tests	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Desegregation of black colleges	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Higher insurance rates for inner city areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Involvement in Reduction of Racism Effectiveness and Use of Strategies

Below is a list of methods which have potential for diminishing or eliminating institutional racism. Indicate the degree to which you believe the strategy to be effective where applicable and the extent to which you have used it in the past.

1. Vote for politicians sympathetic to altering racist practices

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

   Extent of Use

   1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
   5 very frequently

2. Actively lobby for enactment of antidiscrimination laws

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

   Extent of Use

   1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
   5 very frequently

3. Provide setting in which minorities and whites can participate in common social activities to get to know one another

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good excellent

   Extent of Use

   1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
   5 very frequently

4. Persuade white friends on an individual level that racism hurts them as much as it does minorities

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

   Extent of Use

   1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
   5 very frequently

5. Inform minority groups of the problem and help mobilize them to change

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

6. Demonstrate and picket against racist practices

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

   Extent of Use

   1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
   5 very frequently

7. Integrate neighborhoods

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

8. Bring in minorities at top administrative levels so that they can monitor and change racist policies

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

9. Make it possible for minorities to withdraw and develop their own businesses, schools, and other organizations rather than rely on predominantly white organizations

   Effectiveness of Strategy

   1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

10. Utilize the courts to alter unfair practices

    Effectiveness of Strategy

    1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

    Extent of Use

    1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
    5 very frequently

11. Provide education about the subtleties of racism

    Effectiveness of Strategy

    1 poor 2 fair 3 good 4 excellent

    Extent of Use

    1 never 2 seldom 3 occasionally 4 frequently
    5 very frequently

Climate for Racism

Below are statements about the behavior and policy which may or may not apply to your agency, organization, or institution. For each item indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree regarding the accuracy of that statement as it pertains to your agency. Indicate your perception or opinion of your work situation by circling the appropriate number.

1. There is very sensitive understanding and acceptance of differences among ethnic or racial groups.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

2. Extensive changes have been made to make services (resources) accessible to minority persons.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

3. Few attempts have been made to alter services or organizational functioning to accommodate the cultural perspectives of minority groups.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

4. Minority groups have little to say about decisions which affect functioning in this agency.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

5. This organization goes out of its way to make minority group members feel at home.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

6. An important function of management in this organization is to promote cooperation between minority and nonminority groups.

   1 mildly agree 2 strongly agree 3 agree 4 uncertain
   5 mildly disagree 6 strongly disagree 7 disagree

Part II

Directions

The purpose of this questionnaire is to look at efforts to reduce institutional racism by using a series of descriptive scales. In answering this questionnaire, please make your judgments on the basis of how things seem to *you*; all answers will be confidential. Here is how to use the scales:

If you think that such efforts are very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your checkmark as follows:

Important X : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Unimportant
Important _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : X Unimportant

If you think that reduction of institutional racism is quite closely related to one end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your checkmark as follows:

Important _ : X : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Unimportant
Important _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : X : _ Unimportant

If such efforts seem only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:

Important _ : _ : X : _ : _ : _ : _ Unimportant
Important _ : _ : _ : _ : X : _ : _ Unimportant

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale (both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept) or if the scale is completely irrelevant, then you should place your checkmark as follows:

Important _ : _ : _ : X : _ : _ : _ Unimportant

Work at a fairly high speed through this task. It is your first impression and immediate "feelings" about the items that are wanted. Make each item a separate and independent judgment.

Administrative Efforts To Reduce Racism

Please fill out this scale marking the way you feel about administrative efforts in your organization to reduce institutional racism.

active	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	passive
democratic	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	autocratic
constructive	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	destructive
resistance	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	cooperation
impractical	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	practical
involuntary	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	voluntary
reluctance	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	eagerness
accurate	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	inaccurate
positive	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	negative
vigorous	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	feeble
strong	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	weak
private	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	public
closed	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	open
willingly	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	grudgingly
uninformative	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	informative
contrived	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	natural
realistic	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	idealistic
movement	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	inertia
flexible	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	rigid
precise	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	ambiguous

Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism

Please fill out this scale marking the way *you* feel about your own efforts to reduce institutional racism.

active	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	passive
democratic	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	autocratic
constructive	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	destructive
resistance	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	cooperation
impractical	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	practical
involuntary	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	voluntary
reluctance	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	eagerness
accurate	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	inaccurate
positive	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	negative
vigorous	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	feeble
strong	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	weak
private	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	public
closed	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	open
willingly	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	grudgingly
uninformative	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	informative
contrived	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	natural
realistic	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	idealistic
movement	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	inertia
flexible	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	rigid
precise	_:_:_:_:_:_:_	ambiguous

Appendix B. Intercorrelations of IRS Subscales

Indices of racism					
r	.271***	.354***	.384***	−.255**	.186*
N	(124)	(112)	(115)	(104)	(113)
Effectiveness of strategies					
r	———	.381***	−.037	.157	.211*
N	———	(114)	(110)	(101)	(107)
Use of strategies					
r	———	———	.054	−.055	.121
N	———	———	(100)	(88)	(97)
Agency policies					
r	———	———	———	−.732***	.019
N	———	———	———	(97)	(101)
Administrative efforts					
r	———	———	———	———	.259**
N	———	———	———	———	(97)

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Appendix C. Means and Standard Deviations on IRS Items for Standardization Groups

Name of Scale		Items	Conference (N = 48)	Government (N = 41)	Students (44)	Minority (N = 45)	Nonminority (N = 74)	All (134)
					Indices of Racism			
Indices of Racism	(1)	Seniority as criteria	4.145 (1.660)	3.208 (1.833)	2.957 (1.668)	4.039 (1.685)	3.138 (1.756)	3.473 (1.786)
	(2)	Suspension rate of minority students	5.855 (0.989)	4.458 (2.042)	3.957 (1.756)	5.673 (1.438)	4.200 (1.767)	4.813 (1.815)
	(3)	Separatism	4.889 (1.829)	4.750 (1.862)	4.383 (1.764)	4.769 (1.926)	4.575 (1.734)	4.685 (1.820)
	(4)	Low minority awareness	4.722 (1.547)	4.146 (1.487)	4.745 (1.635)	4.902 (1.513)	4.950 (1.558)	4.866 (1.558)
	(5)	Standardized reading tests for promotion	4.909 (1.418)	4.229 (1.848)	4.217 (1.849)	4.784 (1.301)	4.304 (1.897)	4.477 (1.723)
	(6)	Written tests for promotion	5.000 (1.176)	3.938 (1.895)	3.783 (1.849)	4.730 (1.483)	3.911 (1.896)	4.287 (1.728)
	(7)	Desegregation of black colleges	4.057 (1.586)	3.426 (1.678)	3.196 (1.797)	4.098 (1.432)	3.312 (1.779)	3.582 (1.713)
	(8)	Higher insurance rates	5.250 (1.283)	3.702 (2.053)	3.543 (1.846)	5.308 (1.515)	3.436 (1.835)	4.235 (1.894)
					Effectiveness of Strategies			
Effectiveness of Strategy	(1)	Vote	3.036 (.838)	2.826 (.950)	3.083 (.767)	3.102 (.743)	2.938 (.940)	2.978 (.854)
	(2)	Lobby	3.327 (.695)	3.340 (.788)	3.326 (.790)	3.400 (.728)	3.278 (.750)	3.331 (.750)
	(3)	Common social activities	2.786 (1.003)	3.489 (.777)	3.417 (.919)	3.059 (.925)	3.383 (.930)	3.205 (.961)
	(4)	Persuade friends	2.554 (1.008)	2.745 (1.093)	2.708 (1.907)	2.627 (1.019)	2.741 (1.070)	2.662 (1.058)
	(5)	Information given to minorities	3.055 (.870)	3.111 (.859)	3.021 (.897)	3.140 (.881)	3.063 (.852)	3.061 (.870)
	(6)	Demonstrated against racist practices	2.768 (.914)	2.362 (1.072)	2.391 (1.022)	2.902 (.900)	2.241 (1.028)	2.523 (1.011)
	(7)	Integrate neighborhood	3.036 (.922)	2.761 (1.037)	2.625 (.937)	2.880 (.982)	2.738 (.964)	2.819 (.973)
	(8)	Hire minorities for administrative positions	3.250 (.769)	2.896 (1.057)	2.500 (1.111)	3.269 (.843)	2.630 (1.089)	2.901 (1.021)
	(9)	Chance for minorities to start own business	2.679 (1.105)	1.870 (1.128)	2.109 (1.140)	2.700 (1.882)	1.974 (1.063)	2.241 (1.168)
	(10)	Utilize courts	3.345 (.726)	3.468 (.856)	3.362 (.845)	3.462 (.779)	3.329 (.812)	3.389 (.803)
	(11)	Educate whites	3.333 (.801)	3.604 (.644)	3.553 (.686)	3.519 (.727)	3.500 (.698)	3.490 (.722)

Appendix C. Means and Standard Deviations on IRS Items for Standardization Groups (Continued)

Name of Scale		Items	Conference (N = 48)	Government (N = 41)	Students (44)	Minority (N = 45)	Nonminority (N = 74)	All (134)
					Use of Strategies			
Use of Strategies	(1)	Vote	3.868 (1.038)	2.782 (1.474)	2.886 (1.280)	3.471 (1.286)	3.013 (1.390)	3.217 (1.354)
	(2)	Lobby	2.755 (1.207)	1.822 (1.267)	1.891 (1.178)	2.458 (1.254)	1.987 (1.266)	2.188 (1.284)
	(3)	Common social activities	3.226 (1.050)	2.957 (.988)	3.205 (1.231)	3.060 (1.114)	3.247 (1.102)	3.133 (1.089)
	(4)	Persuade friends	2.836 (1.135)	2.375 (1.128)	3.978 (1.323)	2.471 (1.084)	2.962 (1.305)	2.730 (1.210)
	(5)	Demonstrate against racial practices	2.630 (.977)	1.396 (.844)	1.630 (1.019)	2.385 (1.013)	1.532 (.945)	1.191 (1.091)
	(6)	Utilize courts	1.620 (1.141)	1.533 (1.179)	1.780 (1.333)	2.429 (1.225)	1.746 (1.284)	2.007 (1.297)
	(7)	Educate whites	3.558 (1.092)	2.413 (1.166)	2.548 (1.347)	3.176 (1.244)	2.712 (1.349)	2.879 (1.300)
					Agency Policy			
Agencies' Policies	(1)	Policy 1: sensitivity	3.882 (2.169)	4.417 (1.944)	3.107 (1.768)	4.420 (2.323)	3.456 (1.873)	3.814 (2.031)
	(2)	Policy 2: changes	3.608 (1.898)	3.778 (1.976)	2.667 (1.446)	3.813 (2.039)	2.948 (1.572)	3.362 (1.845)
	(3)	Policy 3: alter function	4.979 (1.874)	4.043 (1.825)	4.140 (1.567)	5.104 (1.825)	4.054 (1.663)	3.859 (1.882)
	(4)	Policy 4: little to say by community	4.689 (1.824)	5.630 (1.925)	4.159 (1.738)	5.191 (1.872)	4.527 (1.939)	4.833 (1.916)
	(5)	Policy 5: feel at home	3.840 (2.044)	4.022 (1.994)	4.333 (1.719)	3.592 (2.071)	4.333 (1.803)	4.057 (1.926)
	(6)	Policy 6: function of management	3.451 (2.052)	2.646 (1.682)	3.070 (1.486)	3.857 (2.021)	2.579 (1.407)	3.063 (1.791)
					Administrative Efforts To Reduce Racism			
Administrative Efforts To Reduce Racism	(1)	Active	3.532 (1.780)	3.913 (1.518)	3.711 (1.440)	3.109 (1.567)	3.987 (1.473)	3.717 (1.583)
	(2)	Democratic	3.521 (1.598)	3.174 (1.322)	3.800 (1.325)	3.127 (1.345)	3.667 (1.364)	3.496 (1.436)
	(3)	Constructive	3.813 (1.525)	4.289 (1.014)	4.140 (1.104)	3.578 (1.438)	4.312 (1.029)	4.074 (1.251)
	(4)	Resistance	3.521 (1.611)	4.178 (1.284)	4.178 (1.072)	3.391 (1.358)	4.192 (1.259)	3.891 (1.418)
	(5)	Impractical	3.957 (1.776)	4.400 (1.232)	4.163 (1.396)	3.442 (1.637)	4.494 (1.263)	4.172 (1.489)
	(6)	Involuntary	3.936 (1.538)	3.477 (1.372)	3.591 (1.282)	3.178 (1.512)	3.870 (1.271)	3.674 (1.408)

Appendix C. Means and Standard Deviations on IRS Items for Standardization Groups (Continued)

Name of Scale		Items	Conference (N = 48)	Government (N = 41)	Students (44)	Minority (N = 45)	Nonminority (N = 74)	All (134)
	(7)	Reluctance	3.333 (1.576)	3.333 (1.187)	3.511 (1.079)	2.957 (1.264)	3.577 (1.212)	3.391 (1.298)
	(8)	Accurate	3.500 (1.517)	4.000 (1.078)	3.422 (1.340)	3.578 (1.406)	3.592 (1.288)	3.637 (1.342)
	(9)	Positive	3.896 (1.491)	4.348 (1.251)	3.689 (1.411)	3.468 (1.457)	4.179 (1.307)	3.978 (1.406)
	(10)	Vigorous	3.083 (1.609)	3.644 (1.282)	3.545 (1.022)	2.894 (1.448)	3.632 (1.141)	3.416 (1.348)
	(11)	Strong	3.146 (1.598)	3.565 (1.167)	3.545 (1.088)	2.936 (1.389)	3.548 (1.162)	3.413 (1.317)
	(12)	Private	3.875 (1.852)	3.822 (1.466)	4.178 (1.248)	3.587 (1.707)	4.115 (1.386)	3.957 (1.547)
	(13)	Closed	3.804 (1.614)	4.444 (1.307)	3.932 (1.283)	3.783 (1.489)	4.201 (1.375)	4.059 (1.429)
	(14)	Willingly	3.652 (1.538)	3.804 (1.424)	3.738 (1.345)	3.222 (1.460)	3.933 (1.379)	3.731 (1.431)
	(15)	Uninformative	4.087 (1.561)	4.152 (1.475)	4.095 (1.445)	3.756 (1.612)	4.200 (1.385)	4.112 (1.485)
	(16)	Contrived	3.532 (1.586)	2.978 (1.158)	3.378 (1.230)	3.133 (1.575)	3.346 (1.933)	3.299 (1.352)
	(17)	Realistic	3.553 (1.316)	3.795 (1.173)	3.767 (1.231)	3.400 (1.232)	3.773 (1.181)	3.701 (1.239)
	(18)	Movement	3.356 (1.510)	3.867 (1.140)	3.455 (1.266)	3.140 (.390)	3.701 (1.171)	3.560 (1.324)
	(19)	Flexible	3.733 (1.483)	3.500 (1.441)	3.465 (1.351)	3.800 (1.517)	3.421 (1.339)	3.567 (1.422)
	(20)	Precise	3.111 (1.385)	3.304 (1.314)	3.044 (1.397)	2.891 (1.354)	3.192 (1.300)	3.154 (1.360)
					Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism			
Personal Efforts To Reduce Racism	(1)	Active	4.628 (1.543)	3.867 (1.517)	3.651 (1.564)	4.213 (1.769)	3.822 (1.475)	3.985 (1.603)
	(2)	Democratic	4.651 (1.351)	4.622 (1.134)	4.595 (1.106)	4.500 (1.502)	4.606 (.923)	4.562 (1.194)
	(3)	Resistance	4.465 (1.403)	4.911 (1.125)	4.548 (1.194)	4.604 (1.469)	4.694 (1.043)	4.646 (1.250)
	(4)	Impractical	4.750 (1.164)	4.911 (1.164)	4.595 (1.127)	4.771 (1.448)	4.750 (.931)	4.756 (1.151)
	(5)	Involuntary	4.818 (1.419)	5.364 (.750)	4.738 (1.231)	4.745 (1.467)	5.097 (.995)	4.977 (1.191)
	(6)	Reluctance	4.932 (1.043)	4.667 (1.087)	4.238 (1.265)	4.708 (1.271)	4.500 (1.113)	4.618 (1.160)
	(7)	Accurate	4.357 (1.186)	4.600 (.889)	4.122 (1.122)	4.479 (1.072)	4.257 (1.010)	4.367 (1.079)
	(8)	Ineffective	4.364 (1.225)	4.289 (1.199)	4.317 (1.011)	4.292 (1.271)	4.310 (.980)	4.323 (1.108)

Appendix C. Means and Standard Deviations on IRS Items for Standardization Groups (Continued)

Name of Scale		Items	Conference (N = 48)	Government (N = 41)	Students (44)	Minority (N = 45)	Nonminority (N = 74)	All (134)
	(9)	Positive	4.682 (1.073)	4.844 (1.043)	4.659 (1.087)	4.729 (1.233)	4.704 (.971)	4.731 (1.062)
	(10)	Vigorous	4.512 (1.352)	3.911 (1.294)	3.878 (1.166)	4.404 (1.362)	3.944 (1.182)	4.101 (1.298)
	(11)	Strong	4.591 (1.085)	4.133 (1.290)	3.805 (1.188)	4.563 (1.219)	3.901 (1.185)	4.185 (1.225)
	(12)	Private	3.955 (1.509)	3.159 (1.569)	3.171 (1.498)	3.617 (1.609)	3.268 (1.549)	3.434 (1.560)
	(13)	Closed	4.682 (1.157)	4.523 (1.131)	4.707 (1.167)	4.574 (1.298)	4.648 (1.030)	4.636 (1.145)
	(14)	Contrived	4.841 (.987)	4.932 (.900)	4.585 (1.204)	4.915 (1.060)	4.634 (1.031)	4.791 (1.036)
	(15)	Realistic	4.209 (1.597)	4.244 (1.583)	4.725 (1.012)	4.521 (1.516)	4.381 (1.354)	4.383 (1.442)
	(20)	Movement	4.762 (.906)	4.444 (1.035)	4.179 (1.254)	4.702 (1.102)	4.304 (1.075)	4.486 (1.086)
	(17)	Irrelevance	4.909 (.936)	4.711 (.944)	4.854 (.989)	4.813 (1.104)	4.859 (.833)	4.823 (.952)
	(18)	Free	4.667 (1.097)	4.465 (1.260)	4.650 (1.075)	4.652 (1.251)	4.544 (1.071)	4.592 (1.144)
	(19)	Flexible	2.386 (1.262)	4.644 (.933)	4.659 (1.153)	3.125 (1.658)	4.408 (1.226)	3.885 (1.548)
	(20)	Precise	4.419 (1.159)	4.200 (1.140)	4.122 (1.453)	4.532 (1.177)	4.099 (1.300)	4.248 (1.250)

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Chapter 16

The Racialistic Incidents Inventory: Measuring Awareness of Racialism[1]

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ABSTRACT

The Racialistic Incidents Inventory (RII) was developed to assess individual profiles of awareness for eight types of racialistic incidents, each of which is further refined into one of six subtypes. Racialism is defined as prejudice developed along racial or color lines. This 222-item scale was administered to 131 undergraduate white males and females along with the Jackson Social Desirability Scale and the Taylor, Wilson, and Dobbins Racialistic Contents Scale. Sixty-six items were eliminated because of poor discrimination, low consistency with subscale, or high saturation with social desirability. Other analyses supported the construct validity of the resulting 156-item scale. Correlations between the RII and Racialistic Contents Scale are sufficiently low to indicate that different constructs are being measured by these two instruments. Both racist and nonracist racialistic attitudes appear to affect sensitivity to racialistic incidents. The importance of assessing awareness of racialism and implications of this assessment for intervention are discussed.

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"Racism" and "Racialism"

In 1968, a task force of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children concluded that "Racism is the number one public health problem facing America today" (Shapiro 1974). Nine years later, this statement has retained its relevance. From the first arrival of black people in this country until the present time, blacks have existed in a society whose basic foundation is deeply rooted in racism. In spite of its demonstrated importance, research on racialism is sparse and narrow in scope, especially as compared to the voluminous research on other mental health problems.

In exploring racialism, Taylor conceptualized a classification system in which racialism is treated as a differentiated process with multiple determinants rather than as a single uniform process (Taylor 1971). Taylor's conceptual taxonomy was proposed as a means of identifying more precisely several dimensions associated with racial attributions: content (racist or nonracist), type of incidents (individual or institutional setting, overt or covert expression, attitudinal or behavioral manifestation), and sociogenic variables (the particular social/psychological processes, including the ego defenses, through which racial attitudes are formed). Research has already been undertaken to operationalize and validate the first two dimensions of this taxonomy: the content of racialistic attitudes, and the type of incidents in which such attitudes are demonstrated.

Racialistic Contents. Racialism may be racist or nonracist. Racist contents reflect stereotypic beliefs of the inherent superiority of one race over another or of race as a primary determinant of human characteristics, such as intelligence or creativity. For example, individuals who believe that "blacks are not in more responsible positions because they are not mentally able to assume such positions" are exhibiting a racialistic orientation which is racist in content. In contrast, nonracist racialistic orientations are mainly influenced by sociocultural factors. This type of racialistic position is reflected, for instance, by a white person who hates a black person because he feels that the latter is a threat to his job security, not that the black is inherently inferior to him. In context of this taxonomy, therefore, all examples of racialism are not necessarily racist, but all instances of racism are racialistic.

Taylor, Wilson, and Dobbins (1972) designed the Racialistic Content Scale (RCS) to measure both racist and nonracist racialistic contents. The RCS provides an estimate of the extent to which stereotypic beliefs about blacks have been internalized.

[1] "Racialism" is a term proposed by the second author to refer to prejudice developed strictly along racial or color lines as distinct from other forms of social prejudice.

Racialistic attitudes and behaviors may be ego-defensive when they are employed as a means of coping with personal insecurities or resolving internal conflicts (Katz 1960). Ego-defense mechanisms develop within the individual, and "the objects and situations to which they are attached are merely convenient outlets for their expression" (Katz 1960, pp. 173-173). Thus, the high ego-defensive person would be expected to manifest more racialistic attitudes than the low ego-defensive individual. Dobbins (1974) obtained a positive correlation between ego defensiveness and racialistic attitudes with white college students; students with high scores on the Ego Defensiveness Scale (EDS) scored higher on both the racist and nonracist subscales than those persons scoring low on the EDS. The finding suggests that persons who possess a high level of ego-defensiveness tend to exhibit relatively stronger racialistic attitudes than those individuals who are less ego-defensive.

The RCS can be used for assessing internalization of stereotypic beliefs about blacks by whites as well as for measuring the extent to which blacks themselves have internalized these same stereotypes. Terrell (1974) explored the relationships among internalization of white norms by black students as measured by the RCS, their knowledge of black norms and habits as assessed by the Penick (1971) scale, and their identification with a black nationalist ideology as measured by Terrell's (1974) Black Ideology Scale (BIS). Reviewing the literature on black nationalism, Terrell found four recurring themes which seemingly depict the black nationalist's philosophy: (1) separation from the American white society; (2) separation by whatever means necessary; (3) glorification of blackness; and (4) condemnation of whiteness. The BIS was developed around these four topics. Results of Terrell's study indicate that strong identification with a black nationalist ideology increases the tendency to be conscious of black norms and habits and reduced the likelihood of internalizing white stereotypes about black people.

Looking at black consciousness as a developmental process across four stages, Milliones (1973) found an inverse relationship between level of black consciousness and internalization of white norms as inferred from the RCS. A Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIBC) designed by Milliones was used to measure level of black consciousness relative to each of the following stages: (1) preconscious, (2) confrontation, (3) internalization, and (4) integration. The DIBC is based on Cross' (1971) conceptualization of the "Negro to Black" conversion experience. Milliones found that, as blacks attained higher levels of black consciousness, they tended to internalize fewer white norms. For example, a black person in stage four, "integration," had fewer internalized racialistic stereotypes than a black individual in stage one, "preconscious." Finally, racialistic stereotypes about blacks and locus of control together were found to be related to the level of responsibility attributed to a black or white stimulus person by black and white subjects (Barrett 1974). The Rotter Locus of Control (RCS) measure and an attribution task were administered to a group of high school students. Barrett found that, irrespective of the subject's race, those who internalized few racialistic stereotypes were similar in their attribution of severity of outcome for both black and white stimulus figures. Black subjects were also found to endorse fewer racialistic stereotypes than whites.

Racialistic Incidents. A second dimension of the racialism taxonomy further classifies racialistic orientations according to type of racialistic incidents. Each racialistic incident may be viewed from three perspectives: (1) setting, (2) mode of expression, and (3) manifestation. Setting refers to whether the racialistic orientation is carried by an individual or an institution. For the purposes of this paper, institution is defined as any association, custom, or relationship which is organized, approved, and maintained by a society through its various social systems. Mode of expression refers to the overt or covert communication of the incident. Overt racialistic incidents are "obvious, undisguised, ingenuous, public, and open to view," but covert incidents are "disguised, disingenuous, private and not readily open to view." (Taylor 1971, p. 422). Thus racialism may be manifested in attitudes or indirect behavior. With respect to individuals, behavior refers to an act that has occurred and can be identified. With regard to institutions, the racialistic behavior may be manifested through rules, policies, and conformity guidelines.

By combining the two types of settings, two modes of expression, and two types of manifestations, eight types of racialistic incidents are possible (see table 1).

Table 1

Typical items for each of eight types of racialistic incidents to which respondents indicate the extent of prejudice:

Type 1: *Covert* x *Individual* x *Attitudinal* (18 items)
Poor education, low employment status, and substandard housing among blacks are due to their own failure to try to improve themselves.

Type 2: *Covert* x *Institutional* x *Attitudinal* (14 items)
Many mental health professionals still view the black family as a torn fragment consisting of a mother and child on welfare and an absent father.

Type 3: Overt x Individual x Attitudinal (25 items)
Laws to prevent blood transfusions between blacks and whites should be reinstituted.

Type 4: *Overt* x *Institutional* x *Attitudinal* (18 items)
Slavery was a benign institution necessary for the well-being of blacks and should be maintained in some form.

Type 5: *Covert* x *Individual* x *Behavioral* (17 items)
The same white waitress consistently spilled coffee on black customers whenever they dined with racially integrated groups.

Type 6: *Covert* x *Institutional* x *Behavioral* (16 items)
Many educational institutions have set up income barriers that keep blacks from attending professional schools.

Type 7: *Overt* x *Individual* x *Behavioral* (22 items)
A white man threw stones at a black couple as they walked through the neighborhood.

Type 8: *Overt* x *Institutional* x *Behavioral* (26 items)
Blacks who kill whites are given the death penalty more frequently than whites who kill blacks.

Development of the Inventory

The initial version of the Racialistic Incidents Inventory (RII) was composed of 222 items to measure individual awareness of the eight types of racialistic incidents. A racialistic incident is defined as a situation in which behaviors or attitudes are discriminatory, i.e., directed against a particular racial or ethnic group physically, psychologically, economically, politically, educationally, or socially. Consequently, each item depicting a racialistic incident was designed so that it can be classified not only according to type but also according to one of six subtypes: (1) physical, (2) psychological, (3) economic, (4) political, (5) educational, and (6) social. The number of items varied from 24 to 36 per type. After items had been written for each type and subtype, three judges (a clinical psychologist and two psychology graduate students) were provided with descriptions of categories and asked to rate the initial set of items for clarity and appropriateness of classification. The consensus of all three judges was required to retain an item. When disagreement occurred, items were rewritten and finally discarded if they still did not meet the criterion of clarity and appropriateness of classification.

Items were designed to attenuate the effects of response acquiescence. The internal structure of the RII was further refined through a series of psychometric procedures which consisted of an item-discrimination analysis, a test of homogeneity, and the use of a social desirability scale to assess the extent to which the RII correlates with socially acceptable responses.

Using the following seven-point scale, subjects rated the amount of racial prejudice reflected in the content of each statement: (1) very low and nonexistent, (2) moderately low, (3) somewhat low, (4) borderline, (5) somewhat high, (6) moderately high, and (7) very high. High scores indicate low racialistic awareness, while low scores suggested high awareness of racialism.

In the conceptualization of racialism, Taylor proposes that the Racialistic Contents and Racialistic Incidents dimensions are independent. The present study is an empirical test of this assertion. It is expected that individuals who express strong stereotypic beliefs about the biological or genetic inferiority of blacks are likely to be lower in their awareness of racialism than those who manifest few racialistic stereotypes about blacks. Furthermore, persons with strong stereotypic beliefs about blacks which are nonracist in content (as measured by the nonracist racialistic contents subscale) also manifest a lower level of racialistic awareness than subjects expressing few such attitudes. In other words, whether the content of stereotypic thinking is racist or nonracist, the tendency to attribute stereotyped traits or behaviors to blacks is expected to be associated with a lowered recognition of racialistic incidents.

Method

Participants were 77 female and 54 male white undergraduate students ages 17 to 30 enrolled in psychology courses at a northeastern university. Most of the students (105) received course credit for their participation, but the others (26) participated on a strictly voluntary basis. Although the three inventories were originally administered to 179 subjects, 48 subjects were eliminated for one or two reasons: Their inventories were incomplete,

and/or they were black Americans. Since one purpose of this study was to investigate racialistic awareness among whites, only the completed inventories of these subjects were used in the final analysis.

Examiners. Four white examiners, one female and three males, administered the inventories. Two of the examiners were senior psychology majors, and two were advanced graduate students in psychology.

Instruments. The first revision of the Racialistic Contents Scale (Taylor, Wilson, and Dobbins 1972) was used to assess racialistic attitudes. This scale is a 60-item inventory with two subscales: racist contents and nonracist contents. The first subscale is designed to assess stereotypic beliefs that blacks are genetically or biologically inferior to whites, while the second subscale measures those racialistic attitudes that are nonracist in content and primarily influenced by sociocultural factors.

Jackson's Social Desirability Scale (1967) was also used. This scale consists of 20 items designed to measure an individual's tendency to give socially acceptable responses instead of expressing true feelings about a statement.

Procedure. Each subject was given a packet containing the three inventories in the following order: The RII, Jackson's Social Desirability Scale (SDS), and the RCS. One of the four examiners verbally administered a set of standard instructions to each group of subjects.

Results

Item Selection Analysis. First, items were eliminated which failed to distinguish between scores of the upper and lower quartiles on each subscale. Second, the items surviving the preceding step were subjected to a test of item homogeneity; a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed between an item and its own subscale score. Any item with a correlation less than .25 ($p < 0.5$) was dropped from the RII. Correlations for the remaining items ranged from .25 to .76. Third, the surviving items were examined for their saturation with social desirability by computing Jackson's (1970) Differential Reliability Index (DRI). A *t*-test procedure was performed to determine that those items with DRI values > .30 were significant at $p < .05$.

Examining the Pattern of Relationship Between Racialist Contents and Racialistic Incidents. To test this study's hypotheses, Hotelling's T^2 statistic was performed. Subtotal scores were calculated for surviving items on each of the eight RII subscales. Hotelling's T^2 statistics were computed for high- and low-scoring groups on the racist subscale, nonracist subscale, and total RCS in relation to each subscale of the RII. Scores on the two contents subscales and total RCS were split at the median to obtain high- and low-scoring groups for each subscale and total scale. Significant differences were not obtained between the high- and low-scoring groups on either of the subscales or total scale, relative to their score profile on the RII subscales. Overall differences across RII subscales on Hotelling's T^2 were not significant for either the racist or nonracist components. Correlations between all of the RII and RCS subscales show that more covariation exists within the RII (.26 to .84) than between the RII and RCS (−.06 to .30). In general, therefore, correlations between these two scales are sufficiently low to indicate that, as predicted, different facets of behavior are being tapped by the RII and RCS. This correlation matrix is presented in table 2.

Table 2. Correlations between racialistic incidents inventory and racialistic contents scales

	RII Subscales							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Racist content	.23*	.19*	.30*	.23*	.18	−.05	.14	−.01
Nonracist content	.21*	.18*	.26*	.22*	.20*	−.04	.09	.01
Total	.24*	.20*	.29*	.23*	.20*	−.06	.12	.00

*$p < .05$

Differences between the high and low racialistic contents groups on the RII subscales were analyzed by means of univariate *t*-tests. Subjects who had high scores in either racist or nonracist contents tended to be less aware of Type 3 (Overt x Individual x Attitudinal) and Type 4 (Overt x Institutional x Attitudinal) Incidents than subjects who endorsed few racialistic stereotypes of either the racist or nonracist varieties. Subjects high in racist content were also found to be less aware of Type 2 (Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal) Incidents than those subjects scoring low in racist content. These results suggest that the extent of one's racialism, racist or nonracist, is related to one's level of

Table 3. Racialistic subscales by high and low racialistic content groups

Racialistic incidents subscales	Racist content			Nonracist content			Total scale		
	High	Low	T-test	High	Low	T-test	High	Low	T-test
Covert x Individual x Attitudinal	68.20	60.72	1.75	68.55	61.96	1.75	66.39	63.25	.74
Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal	69.82	62.46	1.98*	69.21	63.07	1.52	69.60	69.29	1.71
Overt x Individual x Attitudinal	71.08	61.79	2.53*	71.05	61.82	2.51*	70.04	62.85	1.96
Overt x Institutional x Attitudinal	72.41	62.03	2.66*	72.74	61.70	2.83*	71.72	62.74	2.30*
Covert x Individual x Behavioral	71.93	68.71	.83	73.79	66.83	1.78	70.87	69.79	.28
Covert x Institutional x Behavioral	75.60	76.48	−.20	74.03	78.07	−.92	76.24	75.83	.90
Overt x Individual x Behavioral	63.86	59.33	1.10	64.24	58.95	1.29	63.08	60.13	.72
Overt x Institutional x Behavioral	56.06	56.75	−.14	57.20	55.60	.33	56.56	56.25	.06

*$p < .05$

awareness of racialistic incidents. Results of *t*-tests are given in table 3.

Discussion

Racialism is so deeply embedded in American society that individuals as well as institutions often indulge in racist behaviors and attitudes with little awareness (Thomas and Sillen 1972; Kovel 1970; Daniels and Kitano 1970). Behavior which is performed frequently enough soon becomes accepted as normal; and rarely is normal behavior questioned. Racialism is one of those behaviors that has become so common that its pathological nature is easily and frequently ignored. Since the midsixties, however, white America has found it more difficult to ignore blatant forms of racialism. Although the blatancy of racial discrimination has, for the most part, decreased, today's subtle forms of racialism demonstrate that America is no less racialistic today than it was yesterday. Racialism, as it presently exists, has been most accurately described as "velvet racism" (Mitchell 1976) or "higher order prejudice" (Claiborne 1977). Mitchell suggests that the practice of racialism has become so smooth that it slips up on a person before he is aware of its presence. Like velvet, it is soft when touched, thus, "velvet racism" does not immediately strike a person as plain racism. Similarly, Claiborne views racialism as a sophisticated and subtle process which he compares to Herzberg's (1968) concept of "negative psychological KITA." Elaborating further, Claiborne indicates that a negative psychological KITA is a process of conscious or unconscious strategies and maneuvers designed to disrupt and gradually disintegrate positive feelings of self-worth. The significance of a negative psychological KITA is that the person responding to the movement appears unstable, defensive, and sometimes paranoid, while the person executing the KITA seems uninvolved or occasionally supportive of the individual, i.e., the victim, against

whom he attacks with various movements of the KITA. Higher order prejudice, like the KITA, must be learned, practiced, and developed for precision. It is through the combination of social and subcultural values as well as prior practices of prejudice that a higher order method of discrimination is developed. The acts of discrimination carried out through this process appear fair and socialy acceptable, except to the victim. Additionally, this process, similar to that of the KITA, is reinforcing to the self-esteem (i.e., the satisfaction of one-upmanship) of the individual or institution orchestrating the movements, particularly since few, if any, undesirable legal or social consequences are apparent.

Claiborne also notes that higher order prejudice is often manifested through discrimination against persons who are in high status and competitive positions and economic status in such settings as the Federal Government, large corporations, and universities. Through the use of managerial and supervisory techniques, employers are able to act out either personal or institutional prejudices.

Higher Order Prejudice: A Case Study. A white male physician, who is chief of staff in a large general hospital, decides that he wants a white mental health professional hired as clinical supervisor for the hospital's community mental health outpatient clinic. The senior employee presently acting as clinical supervisor is a black female who is scheduled for promotion to this position, but suddenly experiences personal attacks on her clinical skills and accusations of poor working relations with other employees. The white physician subtly encourages the clinic staff to come to him with problems/complaints about the clinical supervisor. They are also advised not to discuss their job-related problems nor their conference with him in the presence of their supervisor. Additionally, without informing the clinical supervisor, the physician requests the staff to evaluate her. The evaluation consists totally of questions asked personally by the physician. Inquiries include, "What kind of supervisor do you think this is? You probably have at least one or two things that block communication occasionally, not necessarily problems but, you know, difficulties—what are they? How personal is the supervisor? I have noticed that things are somewhat efficient and well organized. Does this interfere with the overall operation of the clinic?" From these questions, the physician is able to act out his prejudices but safely protect himself by allowing the staff to provide the prejudicial feedback concerning the supervisor.

Later, the physician meets with the clinical supervisor, who for the first time in her year's employment, hears that the staff are unhappy, that there are job-related difficulties, and that the staff is not comfortable discussing the situation with her. A few weeks later the acting supervisor is pressured into hiring a white staff member whose credentials are essentially equivalent to the supervisor's and who is overqualified for the position for which he allegedly is hired. This newly hired staff member is specifically asked by the physician to assist him in assessing patients and even to review decisions made by the acting supervisor. Privately, the physician also asks the new employee if he feels his skills qualify him for the clinical supervisory position. When the physician again meets with the acting supervisor for counseling around supervisory techniques to improve job performance, the supervisor informs the physician that she is quite aware of the inquiries he has made with her staff concerning her. In an attempt to deny his involvement, the physician retaliates by stating that the supervisor appears somewhat paranoid and that this type of behavior is not in the best interest of the hospital or other staff. The supervisor is then informed that, if her behavior and job performance do not improve, the supervisory position will be reassessed for assignment to someone else. This is a major blow to the supervisor, who now complains of the harassment to the hospital administrator. Meanwhile, the physician is claiming that such instability cannot be tolerated in the clinical supervisory position, and the newly hired white employee is recommended for the job. Thus, as Claiborne notes, the physician's racially oriented, higher order prejudices are carried out in full. Since there were no physical attacks or overt incidents of racialism against the acting clinical supervisor, the physician appears uninvolved and only acting in the best interest of the hospital. What is obvious, however, is the so-called "paranoia" of the black clinical supervisor who is complaining of attacks that no one else has witnessed (Claiborne 1977). As this example illustrates, some white Americans are indeed resorting to more subtle and sophisticated practices of racialism.

Conclusions

If this society's sensitivity to racialism is to be enhanced, some means for assessing racialistic awareness are needed. The present study has taken

a step toward aiding in the more refined diagnosis of racialism through assessment of individual profiles of racialistic awareness. Results of the present research and similar findings of a subsequent study (Allen and Taylor 1976) suggest that level of racialism, either racist or nonracist, can influence one's sensitivity to racialistic incidents. However, the effect still remains a relative one, since knowing only a person's level of racialism does not mean that precise predictions can be made about a person's level of awareness. Data from both of these studies are consistent with Taylor's assumption that the contents and incidents dimensions are relatively independent.

Implications. With the development of the contents and incidents dimensions, clinical questions can be raised around what it means to be racialistic. What are the consequences of racialism for the mental health of black as well as white Americans? How does racialism affect the ability of white Americans to assess themselves as well as others? With the development and testing of the empirical racialism taxonomy, we can begin to assess what Taylor (1971) has termed "vulnerability to change, direction and expected extent of change, and strategy for change" of racialistic behavior. Relative to this taxonomy's dimensions, such questions as the following are raised: Is a person who possesses racialistic attitudes (racialistic contents) of the racist variety more likely to change than one whose racistic attitudes are primarly nonracist? Is a person low in awareness of Type 1 (Covert x Individual x Attitudinal) racialistic incidents easier to change than a person who has low awareness for Type 3 (Overt x Individual x Attitudinal)? With the development of the Racialistic Incidents Inventory, as well as the Racialistic Contents Scale, we can begin to make more objective assessment of characteristics of those institutions which have been labled racialistic. The questions can be raised, and answered, relative to how racialism manifested by an institution in one community differs from that of an institution in another community. What type of changes will be necessary to ensure the survival of nonwhite communities? It is obvious that blacks, brought to this country against their will and today unwanted here by many people, are indeed here to stay. Thus, the survival and growth of blacks as individuals have a great impact on the survival and growth of black communities. Through the development of such instruments as the RII and RCS, we hope to find further means for ensuring the continued well-being of the black community.

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Chapter 17

The Difference Indicator: Quantitative Index of Institutional Racism

Byron G. Fiman

ABSTRACT

As the nature of racism has been studied more closely in recent years, it seems that its institutional characteristics are the most insidious in their consequences and the most difficult to identify and eliminate. The policies of an organization can have negative consequences to persons of one race, despite the fact that its policies specifically prohibit it and there is no intention nor motivation to discriminate. An organization can be explicitly and genuinely committed to eliminating racism in its operations and still operate in ways which have racist consequences. This paper presents a model which can be used by organizations to plan, implement, and evaluate their own programs to eliminate institutional racism. Without the utilization of such data-oriented strategies, the commitment to equal opportunity can never transcend the rhetoric.

Recently, as the nature of discrimination has been examined closely, it has become apparent that institutional aspects of discrimination are at the same time the most insidious in their effects and the most difficult to identify and eliminate. Institutional discrimination is not necessarily a matter of individual intention or awareness. An organization can be explicitly and genuinely committed to eliminating discrimination in its own operations and yet continue to function in ways which are discriminatory in effect. Thus, the practices of an organization can continue to result in discrimination, despite the fact that its policies specifically prohibit it and there is a complete absence of intention to discriminate. When means are developed to measure institutional discrimination in objective, quantifiable terms, the organization may become fully aware of the unintended discriminatory effects resulting from its normal operations. Armed with this information, organizations may effectively change those aspects of its operation which produce these effects.

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Like other Federal agencies, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) assumed that its operational procedures resulted in equitable resource allocations. The existence of impartial mechanisms for decisionmaking, personal and organizational commitment to equal opportunity, and the absence of complaints gave managers unwarranted assurances that their programs operated without bias. However, such data are nonsystematic and inadequate for the task of assessing institutional discrimination. A recent report by the General Accounting Office concerning the activities of Federal agencies in enforcing equal employment regulations concluded that, despite strong executive orders and agency policies, there has not been any evaluation of such efforts nor do the data exist to enable such an evaluation (Levy 1975). In fact, some research suggests that Government contractors, who are required by law to submit affirmative action plans, have tended to discriminate more than companies without Government contracts (Potomac Institute 1973). The lack of relevant data to evaluate progress in equal opportunity has enabled organizations to substitute policy and rhetoric for real and systematic change in the way minorities and women are treated, in spite of the good intentions of the organization.

At first glance many Government agencies thought that requesting racial identification data might be improper or, even worse, illegal. Because demographic characteristics of resource applicants were not related to the award decision, collecting such data would be difficult to justify, especially since racial identification was specifically excluded from college and employment applications. In fact, the racial or sexual data on resource applicants are not only legal but necessary to evaluate an applicant's potential compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1975 (Dasher 1975). It has

become clear that only by collecting racial and ethnic data can agencies examine and assess the equity of their allocation of resources.

Identification and data collection procedures have received increased attention recently, and certainly appropriate safeguards are needed to protect against potential misuse and unwarranted invasion of privacy. In the opinion of many organizations, including the larger minority group organizations, the potential benefits of such information are clearly worth the risks involved (Commission on Civil Rights 1973). The collection of racial and ethnic data is in compliance with Federal law and is essential if we are to assess and eliminate institutional discrimination.

Some organizational officials view the collection of race and sex data as infringement upon their autonomy, others, as a burdensome imposition on management and existing recordkeeping systems. Given the investment of energy required for data collection, Federal organizations seem reluctant to impose this task on their resource recipients. Moreover, the data have the potential for misuse in ways that perpetuate rather than eliminate discrimination. However, it does not seem reasonable to expect a complex organization to run effectively without information to assess its own effectiveness. Therefore, if organizations are serious about the commitment to creating equal opportunity, they must collect the data necessary to evaluate the success of their efforts.

In an effort to examine the effects of their own policies, NIMH contracted Human Sciences Research to develop means and procedures which would permit the ready determination of the extent to which specific, ongoing NIMH external activities result in racial or sexual discrimination, and to use these means to measure the extent of discrimination and how discriminatory effects change over time.

As the study progressed, it became clear that very little useful data on the race and sex of the recipients of NIMH grants were in fact available. The lack of data necessitated a shift in emphasis away from the actual calculation of a set of indicators and toward the development of a data system to be implemented before an assessment could be undertaken. A set of indicators provides objective measurement of discrimination associated with organizational procedures and policies.

Research Strategy

In studying institutional discrimination, one can focus either on discrimination itself or on the processes or factors which produce it. In this project, the choice has been to concentrate first on developing measures of the phenomenon itself, inasmuch as one cannot really focus on causes or determinants until one has adequately demonstrated the existence of the phenomenon and measured it. Therefore, the thrust of the present project is to develop valid and useful measures of racism. Such a strategy in no way precludes or deemphasizes the need to determine the dynamics of the process itself and the factors which support its continuance; instead, it stresses the importance of developing a satisfactory measure of the phenomenon. Another factor influencing the choice of this particular approach is the desire to move the study of institutional racial and sexual discrimination away from polemics and rhetoric toward more precise measurement and greater objectivity than has frequently characterized discussion of the subject in both the professional literature and the public forum. It should be noted that the purpose of the project is to measure characteristics of organizations and not of the individuals who comprise it.

Although there are differences in emphases of the concept of institutional discrimination in the social sciences, there is fairly high consensus on its major characteristics. In general, Institutional discrimination focuses on the practices of organizations which produce discriminatory effects, whether or not those particular effects are intended. In this case, institutional discrimination occurs quite independently of the attitudes and motivations of individuals who may unwittingly perpetuate it. Another characteristic is that the results of institutional discrimination tend to interact across institutions, and the effects tend to accumulate. For example, the inferior education historically afforded blacks and other minorities interacts with test scores required for entrance to institutions of higher education, the gateways to promotion and success. Thus, minorities are relegated to less technical jobs, leading to lower income, poorer housing, etc.

From the standpoint of developing means of measurement, the most important characteristic of the concept is that its presence be determined by examining the results or effects of an organization's

operations. In other words, we do not examine motivations, intentions, or policies of either individuals or the organization; rather, we examine the outcomes of the normal functioning of the organization wherein institutional discrimination is to be discerned if it exists.

As a basis from which to proceed in developing specific quantitative measures, a formal definition of institutional discrimination is proposed:

> Institutional discrimination is a difference in what happens in an organization, or as a result of the organization's actions, to persons of different race—a difference which results from the normal functioning of the organization and operates to the consistent disadvantage of a particular race.

Using this definition to examine internal institutional discrimination, we look at what happens to members of an organization. To examine external institutional discrimination, we look at how the functioning of the organization has an impact on people outside the organization. NIMH chose first to examine its external impact, and our view in this study is limited to the impact NIMH has outside itself. Such impact can be on individuals, organizations, and communities, and we attempt to examine NIMH impact at all three of these levels. Also, this study focuses on institutional racism, although the model and data analytic methods are appropriate to assess institutional sexism as well.

Assessing Organizational Missions

One of the first tasks involved in assessment of institutional racism relates to understanding the goals, mission, structures, and functioning of the organization under study. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) implements Federal policy regarding research, service, and training in the mental health field. Its basic mission is to develop knowledge, manpower, and services to treat the mentally ill, to prevent mental illness, and to promote and sustain mental health. While a small portion of this work is accomplished within the agency, most of its work is performed through a comprehensive system of grants and contracts to universities, hospitals, and other institutions or agencies. Indirectly or directly, NIMH has a major impact on the delivery of all mental health services in this country. For that reason, it is critical that the effects of NIMH activities be clearly understood. By examining the manner in which agency goals are accomplished, it becomes possible to uncover patterns which may have unintentional, yet inequitable, impacts upon people of different races.

Resource Allocation

The NIMH research, service, and training programs are mostly carried out by organizations outside of NIMH; resources are allocated to other organizations or individuals to provide mental health interventions. Thus, the majority of the efforts of NIMH are implemented through the allocation of financial resources to external organizations. For example, in FY 1972, grants, contracts, and other fiscal awards accounted for 91 percent of the budget of NIMH.[1] Because resource allocation encompasses most NIMH activities, efforts to assess institutional discrimination ought to focus on this aspect of the organization. Therefore, a major assumption of this paper is that, of all the roles and functions undertaken by NIMH, resource allocation is the most important and has greatest potential discriminatory impact.

In order to accomplish its basic missions, NIMH allocates a variety of resources to different recipients. Figure 1 illustrates the various processes that characterize the resource allocation system of NIMH. This process is described only briefly in that our definition of institutional discrimination and our main focus center on the outcomes of these processes.

Resources

While NIMH may participate in a wide variety of activities, it is primarily responsible for the allocation of three major types of resources: fiscal support, technical assistance, and influence. In the area of fiscal support, two funding mechanisms are used—grants and contracts. As these two fiscal awards tend to use different allocating procedures, it is more useful in the context of this model to view grants and contracts as different types of resources, keeping in mind that both involve the allocation of funds. Thus, the resource allocation includes four types of resources or resource allocating mechanisms; grants, contracts, technical assistance, and influence (figure 1).

[1] Source: FY 1973 U.S. Budget.

Resource Allocation Process

To make decisions concerning the recipients of resources, NIMH developed a set of selection processes for each type of resource. On the one hand, these selection processes may be governed by specific rules and accomplished through a somewhat inflexible procedure, as in allocating grants. On the other hand, allocation processes may be nonspecific and determined by administrative judgment, as in the use of influence as a resource. For each type of resource, the selection processes can be conceptualized as a series of decisions, based on formal and informal procedures and usually proceeding in a sequential fashion. Using a number of criteria related to scientific merit, need, or other programmatic considerations, these procedures attempt to select the ultimate recipients of resources from the larger population of potential recipients and applicants. Such processes are illustrated schematically in figure 1.

Impact: Direct and Indirect

In the resource allocation presented, two types of impact have been identified. Direct impact refers to the population of funded or selected applicants for NIMH resources; i.e., the population of resource recipients. NIMH has direct control, within the context of Federal legislative mandates, over the choice of the recipients of its resources, and, thus, the pattern of allocation of resources provides evidence of the direct and immediate impact of NIMH activities. With respect to institutional racism, the racial characteristics of recipients as compared to the population of potential recipients yield indicators of the direct impact of NIMH programs and policies. The race of the principal investigator of a research project or the project director of a training program, the race of the director of a contract effort, and the racial composition of organizations that deliver mental health services are recipient characteristics that can be used to assess the direct impact of NIMH activities.

Indirect impact is also a measurable outcome of the resource utilization process. As discussed previously, most of NIMH programmatic interventions in mental health are accomplished through funding the activities of other organizations. The manner in which funds or other resources distributed by NIMH are used is important to the overall impact of NIMH. As an example of the difference between direct and indirect impact, the former may be assessed immediately by examining the racial composition of populations that receive resources, e.g., principal investigators and personnel hired under the grant or contract. However, the indirect impact may not be evident until the project is completed and/or the results are published or communicated. Indirect impact refers to the content relevance and the potential utility of research projects to various racial groups, as well as the racial characteristics of the research population of subjects, the racial composition of the population of NIMH-sponsored trainees, and the racial composition of client/patient populations that receive NIMH services. Both direct and indirect impact apply to the research, training, and/or service activities of NIMH and serve as useful indicators of potential discriminatory impact.

Basic Concepts in Measuring Institutional Discrimination

The measures leading to quantitative analysis of institutional change are, in large part, adaptations and extensions of earlier thinking. In a project assessing racism in the Army, Nordlie (1974) developed the concept of Difference Indicators for which over 90 specific quantitative indices were defined. In this work with the military, a Difference Indicator was a measure which expressed the relationship between the actual number of blacks in the Army who had some particular characteristic (e.g., being a colonel) and the number of blacks one would expect to have that characteristic under the assumption that there is no systematic difference between blacks and whites. Comparing the actual number with the expected number provides a means for determining the extent to which race is related directly or indirectly to what happens to a person in the Army. The Difference Indicator expressed the extent of that relationship. The indicator itself was defined as:

$$\text{Difference Indicator} = \left[\frac{\text{Actual Number}}{\text{Expected Number}} - 1\right] 100$$

Dividing the actual by the expected number created a ratio of the actual to a standard. The other operations made the resulting indicators easier to interpret. Subtracting one from the ratio was done so that the formula would yield a zero percentage, when the actual and expected numbers

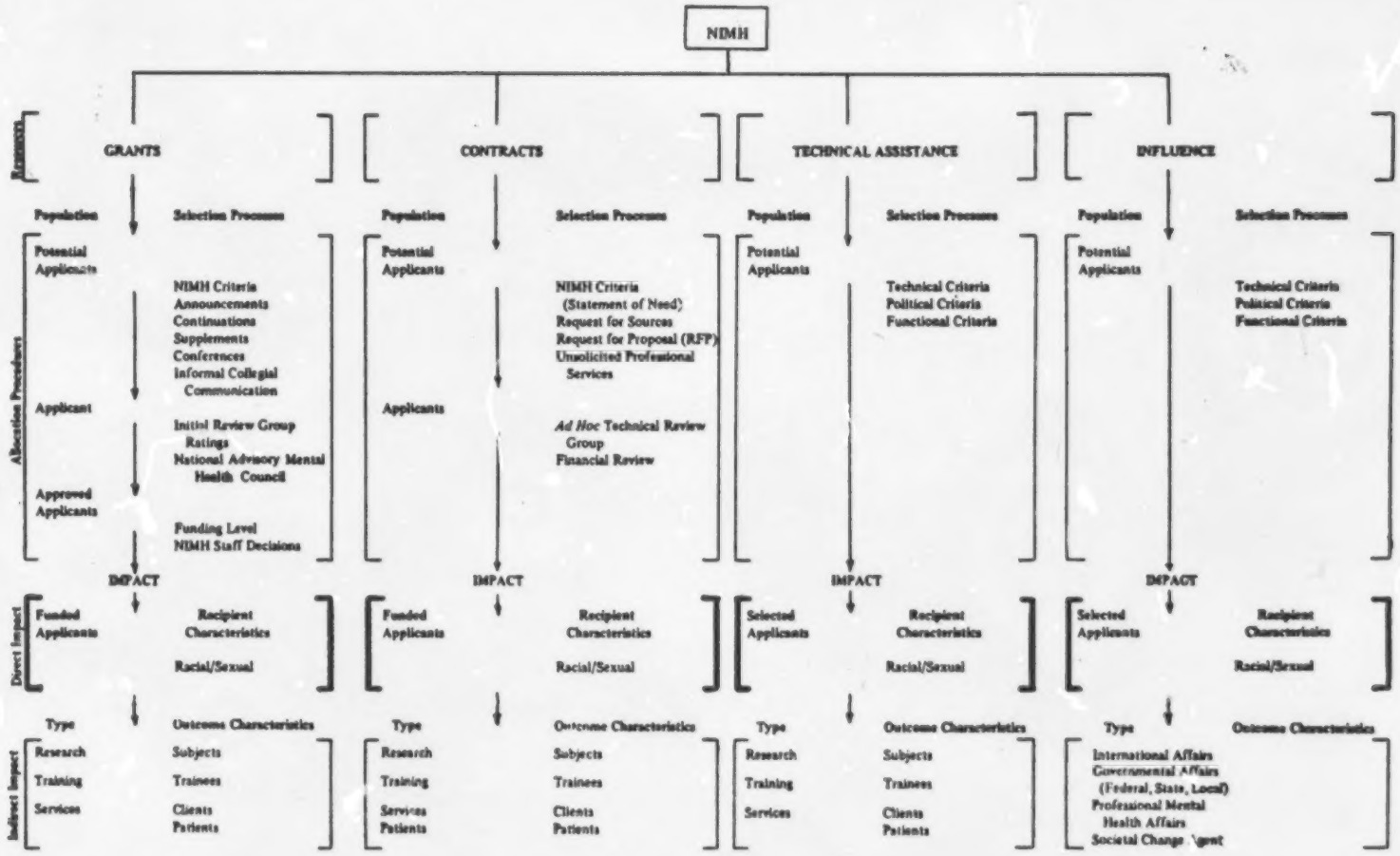

Figure 1. Resource Allocation System

were the same. Multiplying by 100 merely converted it to percentage form. A zero indicated that there was no difference in what has happened to blacks as compared to whites on the particular dimension being measured. If the formula yields a positive percentage, it means that blacks are overrepresented compared with whites on that dimension by that percentage. A negative percentage means that blacks are underrepresented compared with whites on that dimension. In all cases, the reference point is the notion of parity or equal treatment; i.e., there should be no difference in treatment of persons who are equal in all respects except color of skin.

The Concept of Expected Number

Clearly, the core of the Difference Indicator concept is the notion of expected number. The intent of using this concept is to establish a common point of reference which has unequivocal meaning wherever it is used. The expected number is essentially a concept based on the idea of parity or equal treatment which has precedent in law and equal opportunity efforts.

In fact, the concept of parity has become the foundation for equal opportunity programs and the basis for developing goals and guidelines for affirmative action programs. The expectation that minorities in proportion to their number in a relevant population should be represented in organizations, or decisionmaking bodies, or in the distribution of the recipients of resources is a belief that is shared by leaders in many areas of society. It has received particularly strong support in the field of mental health. For example, the recommendations of a national conference on professional training in psychology proposed that the appointments to grant review panels should begin to reflect the composition of target populations by increasing minority membership (Korman 1974). Similarly, Teghtsoonian (1974) points out that females account for 5 percent of the journal editors in professional psychology but constitute 24 percent of the population of professional psychology. To assess the extent of discrimination in this imbalance, she suggests the use of an index in which the percentage of female first-authors is used as the expected percentage of editors who are female. The parity concept has also been used in academic settings. For example, Joesting (1974) assesses underrepresentation of females in training and in positions of leadership by comparing the proportion of female students in masters versus doctoral programs and the proportion of female faculty with the proportion of female department chairs. The executive officer of the American Psychological Association clearly states that, to the extent that minorities and females are not represented on the governing units of the professional association at the same proportion that they exist in the membership, something is wrong and must be changed. (Little 1974).

However, the concept of parity has not been universally accepted. Attempts to apply a parity philosophy have been criticized as a thinly disguised attempt to generate systems of "quotas" that are insidious, regardless of their implicit value system. Charges of reverse discrimination, an erosion of performance standards, as well as dire predictions of the demise of the institution itself have not been uncommon responses to the use of parity strategies (Bunzel 1972). However, Pottinger (1972) counters with the argument that these charges are rationalizations for a resistance to change and serve to obscure the real purpose of equal opportunity programs. In no manner does the use of a parity concept sanction indiscriminate preference for minorities on the basis of minority status alone. Parity concerns the equality of treatment of persons who are equal in all relevant characteristics except race.

The equal treatment concept yields the expected number, the number of minority persons we would expect to have a particular characteristic if race was not related to having that characteristic. For any research grant given by NIMH, we need two numbers: (1) the total number of persons who are eligible and qualified to be principal investigators of NIMH research grants; and (2) the total number of such eligible persons who are black. If we had these two numbers, we could calculate the expected number of black principal investigators. If it were determined that blacks constitute 20 percent of the population of eligible principal investigators, under the assumption that race of the principal investigator was not related to who receives grants, then about 20 percent of the principal investigators would be expected to be black. If it were found that the actual percentage of black principal investigators was 12 percent, the formula would be:

$$\text{Difference Indicator} = \left[\frac{\text{Actual Percentage}}{\text{Expected Percentage}} - 1\right] 100$$

$$= \left[\frac{12}{20} - 1\right] 100$$

$$= (.60 - 1)\,100$$

$$\text{Difference Indicator} = -40\%$$

The interpretation of such an indicator is that there are 40 percent fewer principal investigators who are black than one would expect if it were equally likely that qualified whites and blacks would be principal investigators.

The expected number functions as a standard against which actual performance can be compared. By comparing actual numbers with expected numbers, it is possible to say how much above or below the standard the actual number is. If the standard can be understood as that number which would occur if there were no discrimination on this dimension, then deviation from that standard is a measure of the amount of institutional racism existing on that dimension. Again, the standard, or expected number, is that number which would occur if color were unrelated to the dimension being considered.

Control Variables

As defined, Difference Indicators are mute with respect to the causes of any differences found; however, the form of the indicators makes them amenable for use in exploring what variables do account for all or part of the Difference Indicators.

Variables other than race which can account for some of the variation in Difference Indicators we call control variables. Ultimately, we would like to know what the Difference Indicators are with respect to race with the effects of all other variables removed. In any given case, a number of potential control variables may be fairly self-evident and could be built into any analysis at the outset. In other instances, potential control variables may suggest themselves after the fact. In both cases, the Difference Indicator format is readily used in analyses aimed at measuring the effect of control variables.

A hypothetical example may facilitate the explanation of how control variables can be introduced into the analysis. If in calculating the Difference Indicator for the race of principal investigators of NIMH research grants, non-white persons were underrepresented among principal investigators by 25 percent, one might argue that grants tend to be given to the more well-known or prestigious schools in particular fields and that, in fact, minorities are underrepresented on the faculties of these institutions, and therefore apparent underrepresentation occurs. This hypothesis is readily tested by specifying the population of schools considered to be well-known and prestigious and using the racial composition of the faculties of those same schools as the basis for calculating the expected number. One would then calculate the Difference Indicator using the new expected number. If the new Difference Indicator were lower than the original −25 percent, this would suggest that schools may be a better predictor of underrepresentation by race than race per se. If, however, the new Difference Indicator were not lower than −25 percent, it would be evidence that the hypothesis was not correct. It is possible to continue such analyses insofar as the required data are available. This approach to measurement lends itself readily to more and more precise specification of variables which might account for racial differences when they are found.

Difference Indicators in NIMH Functions

We have provided a model that conceptualizes NIMH external activities as a resource allocation system in which recipient populations are sequentially reduced, based on various selection criteria developed by NIMH. The fundamental philosophy defining the model of the Difference Indicator measurement is a comparison of the distribution of potential with actual resource recipients and characteristics of resource utilization at various points in the allocation process. This assumption can then be reflected in a set of indices that reflect different dimensions of institutional discrimination, depending on the specific comparisons that are examined.

The recommended system of indices makes possible the generation of relatively simple, comparable indicators across a variety of areas related to organizational functioning. To illustrate the complexity of the organizational system, we turn to those factors which influence the Difference Indicators. For each factor we recommend the specific categories that reflect major areas of resource allocation and that should be represented

in the initial, basic system of Difference Indicators. Clearly, to generate a system which accurately reflects the totality of NIMH performance would overload the input capability of any decisionmaker. Our model selects those factors which comprehensively represent NIMH and which, at the same time, are able to yield several specific factors related to the concerns of frontline managers. Thus, an important principle in this assessment technique is that managers have access to Indicators suited to their specific decisionmaking needs. Therefore, the criteria for the selection of a final set of indicators are (1) that the items comprehensively represent the relevant activities of NIMH and (2) at the same time provide sufficient specificity to be useful to NIMH managers. On the basis of our analysis of the NIMH resource allocation system, the initial system of Difference Indicators utilized the set of factors presented in table 1. Difference Indicators can measure a dimension of institutional discrimination based on any factor or combination of factors.

Table 1. Recommended set of factors in initial Difference Indicator system

Factor	Categories
Type of Impact	Direct Indirect
Level of Impact	Individual Organizational Community
Resource/Allocating Mechanism	Total Grants Type I Grants Contracts–Organizational Contracts–Individual
Population Comparisons	Awarded Applications / Potential Applications Actual Applications / Potential Applications Awarded Applications / Actual Applications Awarded Applications / Catchment Area (4 Comparisons)
Minority/Majority Group	Race: American Indian or Alaskan Native Asian or Pacific Islander Black or Negro Caucasian Hispanic Sex: Male Female
Unit of Measurement	Dollars Numbers

Recommended Indicators

Based on the previous discussion of factors that influence Difference Indicators, there is a set of indicators for each major activity at NIMH. In figure 2, a list of specific Difference Indicators for the research activity at NIMH is presented. From review of the literature, we identified the specific aspects of the recipients of resources that could be used to measure potential discriminatory impact. At the individual level, it seemed important to assess separately the racial characteristics of the leaders or major decisionmakers about resource utilization and the other important individuals supported by the resource. Also, it was important to identify the racial composition of the organizational recipients.

Generally, indices can measure race difference associated with resource allocation procedures for the distribution of principal investigators and project directors, professional staff members supported by the resource, and organizational recipients. Our decision to use professional staff members only is based on findings from the literature that many affirmative action programs have created a sense of success by changing an organization's lower level employee composition without affecting the higher level professional and managerial ranks. We propose defining organizational composition by professional staff members only.

For each Difference Indicator, we used an "X" in the proper column to indicate the specific population comparison that would be appropriate. Resource allocation mechanisms that do not contain competitive features, e.g., contracts to individuals, would not be amenable to population comparisons using actual application populations. This is also true for dimensions where certain aspects of the recipient are not identified until the resource is awarded. For example, the specific individuals on the professional staff or the board membership of a service institution often are not identified until the resource is received.

Measures of indirect impact reflect the differences between the way the resources were used

Activity: Research

Type of Impact	Level of Impact	Dimension	Allocating Mechanism	Population Comparison: Awarded Application / Potential Application	Population Comparison: Actual Application / Potential Application	Population Comparison: Awarded Application / Actual Application	Population Comparison: Awarded Application / Catchment Area	Unit of Measurement: Dollars	Unit of Measurement: Number
Direct	Individual	Principal Investigator	Grants–Type I	X	X	X		X	
		"	Grants–Total	X	X	X		X	
		"	Contracts–Org.	X				X	
		"	Contracts–Ind.	X				X	
		Project Staff Members–Professional	Grants–Type I	X					X
		"	Grants–Total	X					X
		"	Contracts–Org.	X					X
	Organizational	Composition of Total Organization–Professional Staff Members	Grants–Type I	X	X	X		X	
		"	Grants–Total	X	X	X		X	
		"	Contracts–Org.	X				X	
	Community	University Recipient–Composition of Student Body	Grants–Type I	X	X	X		X	
		"	Grants–Total	X	X	X		X	
		"	Contracts–Org.	X				X	
	--	Composition of Initial Review Group Groups	--	X					X
	--	Composition of Technical Review Groups	--	X					X

			Actual Number Basis	Expected Number Basis		
Indirect	Composition of Research Subject Populations	Grants	% of Minorities and Females in Research Subject Population	% of Minorities and Females in the United States		X
	"	Contracts				X

Figure 2. Recommended set of indicators

and the expected way of resource use based on the basic null hypothesis and parity assumptions. Resource utilization can only be measured for applications that were, in fact, awarded. Therefore, for some Difference Indicators, the major comparison involves either the awarded application/potential application comparison or the actual resource utilization/expected resource utilization comparison. For each Difference Indicator, we point out the appropriate population comparison or describe the actual and expected population basis. In addition, we recommend the unit of measurement that seems appropriate for each indicator.

Research

The indicators of direct impact for research activities (figure 2) assess the recipient characteristics in terms of the principal investigator who directs the research, the members of the professional staff who are directly supported by the award, the organization which receives the resources, and, if the organization is a university, the student body composition. The latter reflects, in a limited sense, a community-level indicator, where the recipients of the service of the organization are represented directly by the composition of the student body. The awarded applications/potential applications comparison is calculated for all indicators of direct impact, reflecting the totality of the allocation procedures by comparing the resources actually allocated to minorities to the amount of resources that would have been allocated to them, had they received resources in proportion to their number in the relevant population. For example, if $1,000,000 were being allocated for research to clinical psychologists with doctoral degrees, we would expect minority principal investigators to receive the same proportion as minorities exist in the population of clinical psychologists. Assuming that minorities account for 21 percent of all clinical psychologists with doctorates, we would expect minorities to receive 21 percent of the resources, i.e., $210,000. If the actual amount of resources received by minorities exceeded $210,000, the Difference Indicator would be positive and reflect an overrepresentation of minorities on this dimension. If the actual amount of resources received by minorities were less than $210,000, the Difference Indicator would be negative and reflect an underrepresentation of minorities.

Population comparisons based on actual application populations are not appropriate for the contracts allocating mechanism when there is no competition, nor for the professional staff member dimension, because they are not identified until the resource is received. Difference Indicators based on the actual applications/potential applications comparison reflect a comparison between the amount of resources applied for by minorities and the amount they could have applied for, based on their proportion in the population eligible to apply. Thus, in our clinical psychologist example, if $2,000,000 in applications were received, we would expect minorities to receive the same proportion of resources that they made application for in the actual applications process. If minority clinical psychologists applied for $300,000 of the total $2,000,000 in applications, they accounted for 15 percent of the actual resource applications. If $1,000,000 were awarded in resources, we would expect minorities to receive $150,000, or 15 percent of these resources.

The measuring unit of resources for most indicators is dollars. Numbers are used for the professional staff members dimension, for there appears to be no method of readily and accurately apportioning the amount of resources to each member. Therefore, we recommend comparing the racial characteristics of supported professional staff members to those that were eligible to receive support.

The racial composition of the Initial Review Group for grants and the Technical Review Group for contracts are seen as Direct Indicators in that they are recipients of resources, e.g., consultant fees and expenses. In some ways, the review groups are middlemen in the allocation process. While the review group dimensions do reflect direct impact, a more significant impact may be reflected by examining the direct impact of the resource allocations for which the specific review group is responsible. For example, Robinson (1971) suggested that a lack of minorities on review committees is related to a lack of minority resource recipients.

Investigators have pointed to the lack of research about minority and female issues and a lack of sensitivity to such issues in interpreting the results of research. Robinson (1974) reviewed psychological research and suggested that researchers concerned with comparative research and ethnic group differences are not aware of the influence of their own value systems in planning,

executing, and interpreting research. The use of terms like "cultural deprivation" rather than "cultural differences," the use of culturally biased instruments to measure intelligence and personality rather than culture-fair tests, and the "victim-blame" interpretation have all been cited as examples of discrimination in research. Steinmetz (1974) points out that the traditional method of assigning the socioeconomic status based on the male members of a household and use of sex-typed questions to gather data from respondents have resulted in the collection of biased data and biased conclusions.

We hoped to develop indicators that reflected such subtle aspects of discrimination as the amount of research that used culturally biased instruments and theoretical models and the amount of research yielding useful information for or about minorities. Informal NIMH reports, based on related data, were furnished for incorporation into our system, but on more detailed examination, it became painfully clear that no valid and reliable categories had been developed by which to classify or assess the relevance of research projects to minority groups. For example, it is easy to classify a research project about black perceptions of black psychotherapists, based upon a black sample of subjects. However, how would a project on the impact of unemployment using a 50 percent black sample be classified in terms of black content or utility?

Although some investigators attempted to devise and use such categories, the results of their classification procedure are subjective and unreliable and require a more substantive rationale or framework than they provide. Robinson (1971) identified projects concerned with minority life and problems in a subjective manner, but he implied that it is somewhat arbitrary to categorize all projects related to inner-city problems as relevant to minority concerns.

A task of this study is to develop quantifiable and objective indices of institutional discrimination. The use of ambiguous data may lessen the credibility and undermine the usefulness of any system developed on that basis. At present, we do not recommend an indicator concerned with relevance to minorities, but we do encourage continued efforts toward developing reliable and valid techniques for classifying research service or training projects in terms of minority content and utility.

A Difference Indicator on the research subject dimension is useful. Much social science research involves the process of generalizing the results of research on white males (often college students) to the population as a whole. Our expected number would be the racial composition at large, and the actual number would be the composition of actual research subjects supported by the various types of resources. If the research activity is intended to shed light on the mental health of the entire country, the research subject population must be representative. While, of course, specific research projects may focus on more narrow population perspectives, the overall composition of research subjects for research activities should approximate the target population of the overall program. Since data suggest that minority groups constitute high-risk groups for mental illness, such groups ought to be well represented among the research subject population.

Using Difference Indicators

We have conceptualized and generated the basic framework of a system of indicators that can pinpoint underrepresentation and overrepresentation of minority groups in the NIMH resource allocation system. We have attempted to develop a set of indicators that comprehensively reflects the functioning of NIMH with respect to its extramural activities. As with most large systems, the organizational processes are quite complex: Any procedure designed to assess functioning must be correspondingly complex. Consequently, our assessment technique, although conceptually parsimonious, is very complex. However, in practice, no single user is ever likely to use the entire system. To the contrary, each unit is likely to be concerned primarily with those aspects of the assessment which are specifically related to its functions; each unit need attend to a considerably smaller subset of the dimensions described. In a sense, the total system comprises the universe of factors from which organizational units may select those that may be of particular use to them.

Recommendations

Because the framework and methodology of NIMH activities have the capability for dealing with changes in indicators themselves, it is recommended that the system be viewed as the beginning of an interactive process to be continually modi-

fied as a result of new feedback and input, particularly in adding new dimensions, as methodology for quantification of subjective variables develops and as users become more familiar with its output. This system should be automated so that it can routinely calculate relevant subsets of indicators for particular users. Most of the required data can be obtained via augmentation of existing systems. The basic framework should attempt to strike a balance between a system comprehensive enough to examine all major parts of the organization and one that is simple enough to safeguard against a user becoming overloaded with information.

Specific Difference Indicators can be calculated for any organizational unit within the organization that has responsibility for the allocation of resources. It seems advisable to calculate Difference Indicators for the smallest organizational unit with allocation responsibility, normally the branch or center. Indicators for larger organizational units, e.g., divisions, can be generated also. Interaction effects among smaller units at the branch level may compensate for each other and mask important differences within the overall division Difference Indicators. It may be desirable to calculate indicators in the service category for service provider by region and by activity. Difference Indicator matrices at the smallest organizational level constitute the fundamental measure of potential discriminatory impact. However, specific decisions are a function of the needs of the user.

For any given organizational unit, separate Difference Indicators can be calculated, reflecting a distinct and specific type of potential impact of NIMH programs and a different dimension of institutional discrimination. It would be desirable to combine the separate Difference Indicators for a branch or division to yield one overall Difference Indicator for that particular organizational unit. Attempts to combine or average such Difference Indicators for a given unit would assume that all such effects are equal in impact and probably do not reflect the political or technical milieu of NIMH. Further, without explicit empirical data or a comprehensive value system to use as a weighting scheme, it seems more appropriate to consider Difference Indicators as separate and specific indicators of dimensions of institutional discrimination. Such a rationale is reinforced by the nature of management information systems, in which specific monitoring indices are more useful for the generation of interventions to reduce potential discriminatory impacts. Therefore, specific Difference Indicators of the same type can be compared across organizational units or combined within larger units. However, combinations of different types of Difference Indicators reflecting different dimensions may prove misleading.

We recommend that indicators be calculated on an annual basis, timed to coincide with important organizational decisions for which system information would be useful (e.g., budget preparation, policy development, or personnel selection).

Users of the system can view indicators by: (1) examining Difference Indicators at the same time on different dimensions to find information about the relative magnitudes of differences in selected dimensions; (2) examining Difference Indicators at different times on the same dimension to find information about the direction of change in any one selected dimension; and (3) examining Difference Indicators at different times on different dimensions to find information about the relative directions and velocities of change in chosen dimensions. As Difference Indicators are collected over longer periods, a more systematic approach to the data will be necessary to assess these changes in levels. A ratio which compares change in indicators and change in time to yield an average rate of change may be useful. For example, if an indicator went from −83 to a +13 in 10 years, the average rate of change is +9.6 units per year. This ratio is only meaningful for increasing or decreasing functions.

Interpretation of Difference Indicators

The Difference Indicator is not a measure of intent. In any case, where differences are found, collateral information (e.g., the knowledge of the manager, a focused investigation) is necessary to determine whether the outcomes are intentional acts of discrimination. The indicators are tools managers may use to point out specific dimensions along which differences occur. Other precautions must be observed in drawing conclusions from the difference indicators. The assessment system as presently developed does not represent the totality of NIMH, but rather than wait, without even a basic tool, for a number of methodological and political issues to be resolved, it seems wise to use the basic system with an awareness that it represents the first step toward a more comprehensive system. Control variables must be used in the further development

of the Difference Indicator system. Control variables sort out whether the variance in measures of differences which appear to co-vary with race might in fact be attributable to other sources. Such a strategy enhances the manager's ability to identify organizational processes that are associated with differences in treatment. The indicator methodology, while more appropriate than others, does have limitations. For example, a number of different circumstances can lead to the same indicator. This is the case for any composite measure where the "ultimate" criterion does not exist. Also, an indicator becomes −100 whenever the actual number equals 0, although the expected number may vary widely. The indicator is sensitive to small changes when the expected number is small in magnitude. Moreover, no test of significance for indicators currently exists, since the distribution is unknown. However, significance appears less important than the meaningfulness of the differences, and, over time, the distribution of the indicator will become available and make possible the selection of the most appropriate test of significance.

The use of an "expected number" can lead to the use of the "status quo" as the criterion. Therefore, expected number formulations should be continually assessed. For example, if minority group members constituted 1 percent of the psychiatrists in the country, the Difference Indicator would be "0," when minority group psychiatrists received 1 percent of the appropriate resources. But should 17 percent of the country be represented by 1 percent in psychiatry? On another dimension of institutional discrimination reflecting parity assumptions, the actual percentage of minority psychiatrists in this country should reflect the percentage of the population at large; i.e., 17 percent. So that as the Difference Indicator on one dimension approaches "0," it may not on another dimension. The present expected numbers appear useful in relation to civil rights. However, parity reflects a value judgment, one which requires continued revision, one that NIMH must consider, as it affects the mental health of this country. Not acting on this decision, by default, speaks to an endorsement of the present state of affairs.

Conclusion

With regard to equal opportunity, most organizations have clear-cut policy statements and a publicly stated commitment to affirmative action and the principles of equal opportunity. There have been, however, few efforts to follow those policy statements with efforts to determine exactly what it is that needs to be changed and to measure the extent to which such changes are occurring. Unless that is done, the policies, the affirmation of commitment to equal opportunity principles, in short, the rhetoric of equal opportunity, remains just that—so much rhetoric. The model presented in this study is a tool organizations can use to plan, implement, and evaluate their own programs to eliminate institutional racism.

NOTE

This paper is based on the final technical report of a project to develop procedures which managers at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) could use to assess the nature and extent to which NIMH external activities result in racial or sexual discrimination. The desire by NIMH to examine the potential discriminatory impact of its own allocation procedures, when the institute itself is changing and other Federal agencies are not even aware of their potential impact, provides convincing evidence of its commitment to equal opportunity.

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Section V:
Interventions To Reduce Racism: Overview

The decade of the sixties marked a period of American history in which societal problems were attributed to failures of the social system. Expectations that widespread recognition of injustice as structural of systemic would lead to sweeping change were not borne out. In addition, political action directed toward ameliorating social injustice by changing the system was only minimally successful. This has provoked an awareness in the seventies of the need and abilities of individuals to make constructive changes, however limited, in their own lives. The self-help movement attests to this reorientation. This book has attempted to integrate individual *and* systems interventions which may be useful in combating racism.

Hall, Thomas, and Hurley discuss the way in which institutional racism has contributed to the failure of advisory boards of social service agencies and institutions in obtaining community input for policymaking, programing, and evaluation. Despite efforts to meet the needs of individuals in communities, these boards have generally been run by outsiders and professionals who have not adequately developed mechanisms, whether formal or informal, for an ongoing communication between board members, agency or institutional personnel, and community leaders and citizens. The authors describe the difficulties community members must surmount if they are to increase their involvement and ways in which community advisory boards can improve their functioning to include greater public participation. Furthermore, Hurley provides practical suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of citizen participation.

Chan, Brophy, and Fisher address the issue of how traditional counseling techniques can become more relevant to the problems of individuals in relationship to institutions. They present their own Advocate Counseling Model, described as a technique for social as well as individual intervention to deal with institutional wrongdoing. The model instructs individuals in assuming responsibility for advocating their own interests, serving to build a sense of personal mastery and control through the advocacy process. The counselor's role is to provide the individual with skills and technical resources needed to confront the institution. Experience with the model has shown that it is effective in bringing about individual and institutional change.

Sedlacek and Brooks deal with the problem of racism in educational institutions, describing a model which attempts to change the racist attitudes and behaviors of school system personnel, thereby reducing the potential for more subtle institutional forms of racism to exist in the schools. Individual administrators and supervisors attended conferences in which they explored their own racism and the ways in which it affected their work and working relationships. Although the intervention is aimed at individuals, their powerful role in the educational system makes this a system intervention as well. While results of the model have generally been positive, the authors argue for school administration commitment to long-range programs.

Finally, Good examines Federal interventions to eliminate racism through legislation and administrative procedures. The author first reviews the levels and types of interventions available to Government, then offers a brief history of the interventions which have been made. He draws on examples from three public policy areas—employment, education, and health—to illustrate specific Federal policies, legislation, and judicial decisions that have attempted to eradicate institutional racist practices. The author then suggests methods and criteria for evaluating these interventions.

Chapter 18
Advocate Counseling and Institutional Racism

Adrian Chan, Michael C. Brophy, and James C. Fisher

ABSTRACT

This chapter presents a perspective on advocate counseling and its relationship to institutional racism. Both the theory and practice of the Advocate Counseling Model are presented. Rather than having others advocate on their behalf, citizens should advocate for themselves in an assertive and affirmative manner when confronted with public or private institutional problems, including institutional racism. Legal research, conceptualization of alternatives and their consequences, the use of due process procedures and action sequences, and therapeutic counseling are all basic steps in the implementation of this approach. Four case studies related to racism and sexism demonstrate the model and its efficacy.

Psychotherapeutic approaches have traditionally focused on resolving intrapsychic and interpersonal conflicts (Horenstein, et al. 1971). However, the needs and problems of individuals in a racist and sexist society demand that some therapeutic orientations develop the flexibility to be used as tools for social intervention as well.

This chapter describes a particular form of counseling which can be of assistance to individuals who have been victimized by institutional racism and wish to challenge the institution involved. A perspective on advocacy and its relationship to institutional racism is presented, followed by an outline of the theory and practice of the Advocate Counseling Model formulated by Brophy, Chan, Mar, and Nagel (Brophy, Chan, and Mar 1974; Brophy, Chan, and Nagel 1974). Four case studies illustrating the model's handling of institutional racism problems are presented and evaluated.

Advocacy and Institutional Racism

Although the concepts "advocacy" and "advocate" can be traced back to ancient Roman writings and early Roman Catholic church law, only in recent years have these concepts gained in popularity across many segments of the human services professions. Advocacy efforts cut across all age groups, as evidenced by the existence of such organizations as the National Center for Child Advocacy (Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare); Parent ACT (Advocates for Children Today) in Milwaukee; Youth Advocates and Senior Advocates in Seattle, Wash.; and Nebraska Youth Advocate. Such efforts also transcend radically different client groups and problems—for example, consumer advocates, welfare advocacy, nursing home advocacy, developmental disabilities advocacy, and associations for retarded citizens.

All of these advocacy groups emphasize a common set of activities within an intervention/service framework. They provide guidance and/or perform some instrumental or emotional service on behalf of individuals who are physically, mentally, or socially unable to perform such services for themselves. Similar definitions of advocacy are presented by a number of recent writers (Adams et al. 1971; Chan et al. 1976; Kahn et al. 1973; Linnane 1974; Rights of Children 1973; Wolfensberger 1972). Conceptual frameworks for advocacy have been proposed (e.g., Wolfensberger's Citizen Advocacy and Brophy and Chan's Advocate Counseling Model), but there is little systematic empirical research to indicate the construct validity of advocacy as a theoretically distinct approach or the conditions for its success or failure. Nor are there studies comparing the effectiveness of various advocacy approaches with that of other approaches to similar problems.

While the concept of advocacy has gained in popularity, conceptual writing and empirical research have not advanced at the same pace. With many different advocacy efforts currently under way, there is little to distinguish an advocacy pro-

gram from a nonadvocacy program. The term "advocacy" is often misunderstood because of its identification with adversary proceedings and potential confrontation by particular advocacy groups. Many programs and/or persons presently functioning under the rubric of advocate tend to emphasize the negative or threatening nature of their role as opposed to the positive nature of their intentions concerning their impact upon individual behavior and institutional change.

It is the function of advocacy, whatever its form, to help institutions become stronger as they change in order to provide more efficient and effective delivery of goods and services. It is also advocacy's function to make institutional employers and employees accountable in such a way as to identify those whose behavior is dysfunctional and/or racist, as well as functional and nonracist.

It would be fruitless to cite and describe every effort carrying the label of advocacy and examine each in relation to institutional racism. However, three general forms are apparent. These are *Representative Advocacy, Group Advocacy,* and *Self-Advocacy. Representative Advocacy* occurs when an individual represents "as if they were his own, the interests of another citizen who is impaired in his instrumental competency, or who has major expressive needs which are unmet and which are likely to be unmet without special intervention" (Wolfensberger 1972. p. 3). *Group Advocacy* occurs when a group seeks to intervene in a problem situation in order to achieve a goal consistent with the interests of the members of the group or others. Many of the current programmatic efforts using the label of advocacy can be classified into these first two forms of advocacy. The literature reveals few representative and/or group advocacy efforts to deal with problems of institutional racism. In *Self-Advocacy,* the individual with the problem is taught a series of strategies for the purpose of solving it. The Advocate Counseling Model (Brophy, Chan, and Mar 1974; Brophy, Chan, and Nagel 1974) has this emphasis and has been used with individuals confronting a variety of institutional problems.

The Advocate Counseling Model—An Overview

The goal of the Advocate Counseling Model is to help people assert control over their own lives. The process described by this model is focused on helping clients develop skills that will enable them to deal both affirmatively and assertively with dysfunctional interactions with institutions.

The model views the clients as hurting persons who, in interaction with an institution, have been treated unfairly in failing to receive adequate services. The clients need immediate guidance to solve the present problem by means short of litigation. They also need adequate support to develop the confidence necessary to use institutions rather than be used by them. In the process, the clients learn more about institutional structures and behaviors as well as about their own capabilities.

In effect, the model uses the dysfunctional institutional problem as the clients' own learning laboratory. Citizens who become clients are taught the effective use of the administrative procedures involved in due process, and their skills in reading, writing, and practical research are reinforced. Their thought processes and feelings are intensified and amplified to generate awareness of their own reactions as a prelude to assertive action.

The role of the advocate counselor is to help individuals and groups have a maximum impact upon institutions so that the institutions become more alert and responsive to the needs of those persons whom they were established to serve. The counselor is careful to perceive his or her role as that of teaching, enabling, or empowering rather than that of acting on behalf of the client. Using the analogy of a football team, the counselor is always a coach, never a blocking back or a substitute, as in the case of other counseling models. The counselor acts as a disseminator of such information as legislation, litigation, rules and regulations, administrative memoranda, and other operational rules of institutions. The counselor also provides an opportunity for the clients to gather information which will enhance an understanding of their own institutional environment. One of the chief outreach mechanisms of advocate counselors is the accuracy of their information and their ability to provide that information in understandable terms.

It is the model's assertion that engaging in these action-oriented procedures is far more meaningful personally, educationally, psychologically, and politically to those in need of advocacy than other present alternatives. Despite the plethora of approaches, therapeutic counseling tends to focus on feelings and personal difficulties rather than on institutional or systemic malfunctions. Securing the services of a third-party advocate such as an

attorney, public official, or issue-oriented action group serves to reinforce the tendency of people to let others advocate on their behalf, creating undesirable dependency relationships and affirming a sense of personal powerlessness. In contrast, the Advocate Counseling Model asserts that the role of the clients is to learn how to advocate on their own behalf rather than letting others advocate for them. Thus the role of the advocate counselor is to help the clients become their own advocates rather than to advocate on the clients' behalf.

The Advocate Counseling Model—Process

Using the law as the highest authority, the model teaches the clients *to look for discrepancies in the implementation of policies by institutional personnel and to use effectively the administrative procedures of due process.* Much of the legal research education basic to the model is done in an Information Resource Center, an action-oriented research facility containing primary and secondary source materials including statutes, relevant case law, rules and regulations, administrative memoranda, and operational rules of various institutions. In the advocate counseling process, clients become familiar with the statutes which define the duties and limitations of public institutions, and also with the rules and regulations which further define the responsibilities of their administrators. Both the statutes and the rules and regulations are understood as the law. The law is further refined by administrative memoranda, i.e., written guidelines passed down through the chain of command of an institution. Interpretation of the administrative memoranda and the subsequent behavior by front-line institutional workers constitute the institution's operational rules.

Operationally, the model functions according to the scheme in figure 1. The advocate counselor combines the skillful application of accurate primary source information about institutions with such elements of therapeutic counseling as empathy, warmth, respect, confrontation, and assertiveness training in his or her relationship with the client. On the basis of this relationship, the clients interact with institutional personnel as their own advocates.

The flowchart presented in figure 2 illustrates the various steps in the counseling process. The entire

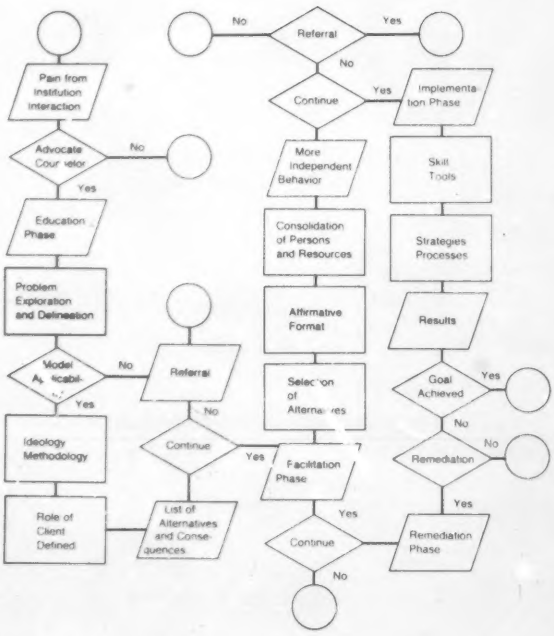

Figure 1. Flowchart of the Advocate Counseling Process.

process may be divided into three distinct but overlapping phases: (a) the Education Phase, (b) the Facilitation Phase, and (c) the Implementation Phase.

Figure 3 describes behavioral analysis of client before and after advocate counseling.

The Education Phase

The initial contact between the advocate counselor and the clients should focus on these major areas:

1. Exploration and delineation of the problem—an attempt to define the institution/individual problem which is causing the clients pain
2. Assessment of the model's applicability—an exploration of the feasibility of helping the clients through advocate counseling in the time allotted for the problem's resolution
3. Articulation of ideology and methodology— the way in which this area is handled is described in Brophy, Chan, and Mar (1974), particularly the sections on "Defini-

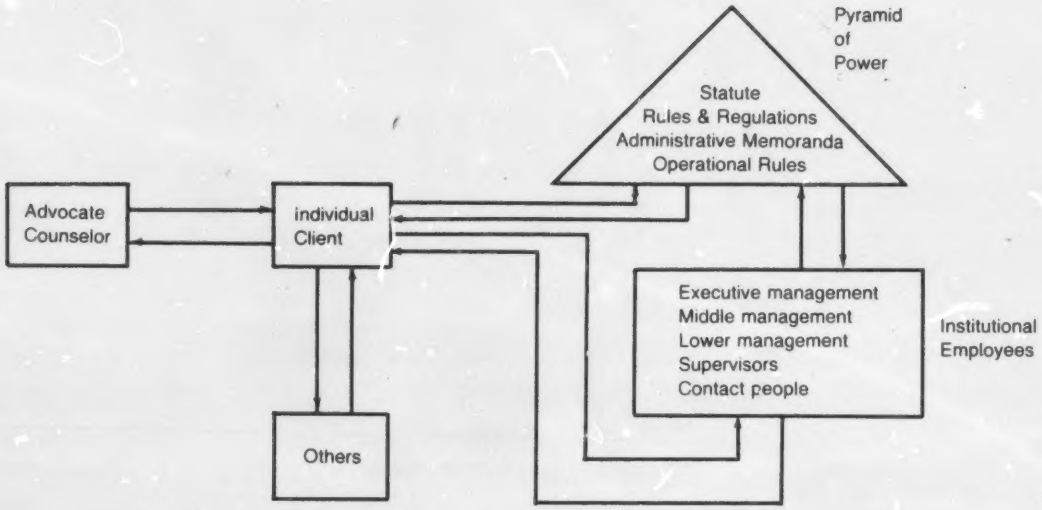

Figure 2. The operational model of advocate counseling.

ANTECEDENTS	BEHAVIOR	CONSEQUENCES	THOUGHTS, FEELINGS
I. Institution-mediated cues; dysfunctional institution-individual incident	Client attempts solutions (before Advocate Counseling)	Institution responds negatively	Client feels bad, impotent, blames and bellittles self, feels frustrated and anxious.
II. Institution-mediated cues; dysfunctional institution-individual incident	Client attempts assertive counter-control skills (during, after Advocate Counseling)	Institution/institutional employee responds positively	Client feels good, potent, feels he/she can be assertive, wants to assert control over other areas of life

Figure 3. Behavioral analysis of client before and after advocate counseling.

tion, Scope, and Ideology" and on "Relation of Advocate Counseling to Social Change/Contract Approaches"

4. Introduction of the Information Center as a reservoir of primary and secondary source materials concerning institutions
5. Listing of all options constituting a possible solution to the problem, thereby broadening the clients' perspectives

Awareness of the pain caused by some institutional involvement in the client's life is the beginning of the advocate counseling process. This awareness can be generated by either the client or the advocate counselor. Similarly, either the client or the counselor may take the initiative to reduce the client's pain. For example, the client's awareness may be heightened by discussing the pain itself. The counselor may clarify these feelings by attributing them to interactions with an institution. To do this, the advocate counselor listens to the client, clarifies the situation by asking questions, and reformulates the problem in terms of individual/institutional interaction.

If the model appears applicable, the counselor typically proposes a schedule for subsequent sessions with the client. An explanation of the model's ideology and method is made in the context of the client's particular dilemma. Following this procedure, the function of the advocate counselor is to inform the client that the counselor has access to knowledge which may clarify the client's problem and potential solutions.

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The Information Resource Center should contain such primary source materials as the statutes and relevant case law of the State in which the counseling service is being offered, the rules and regulations or administrative code together with procedural manuals, administrative memoranda, and operational rules of relevant institutions, all properly indexed and updated. The center also should contain such secondary source material as *Poverty Law Reporter, Family Reporter, Labor Relations Reporter,* and *Federal Consumer Product Safety Service,* which provide indexed coverage with explanations of many institutional procedures. The Educational Phase of the model is dependent upon the counselor's ability to build and use an Information Resource Center. The need and rationale for the establishment of such a facility are as follows:

1. It provides the knowledge which will allow the counselor to respond with some concrete answers to inquiries from clients with institution-related problems.
2. The advocate counselor organizes and utilizes this facility for action-oriented research, i.e., research which can lead to some action on the clients' part.
3. The presence of this information center and a sincere effort at an objective and personal delivery of the information generated by the primary source material tend to create a climate of trust between the advocate counselor and the clients.
4. The center and the memoranda which emanate from it also provide the advocate counselors with a positive and visible outreach mechanism; they become known as willing and able to provide information toward the resolution of the problem.
5. The center provides the clients with the opportunity to identify the mechanism of institutions, thereby increasing their understanding and sense of control.

COUNSELOR and client roles in developing a forced choice context. The primary goal of the model's Educational Phase is to broaden the clients' field of awareness so that the counselor and the clients can define all of the options which might constitute a solution to the problem. In this initial phase, the clients are dependent upon the advocate counselors as a source of information and emotional support. This dependency relationship places great responsibility on the advocate counselors who must be available to respond to the clients' desire for more information and support and to define alternative approaches to solving the clients' problems.

The clients also have a great deal of responsibility. As part of the ideological and methodological orientation, the counselors should clarify that they will not advocate for the clients; hence, it is the clients' responsibility to learn the necessary skills and to assert control over their own lives in problem situations. Some effort should be made during this phase to assess the clients' reading and writing proficiency, since these skills are required in the model's Implementation Phase. (In fact, clients' incentive to improve these essential skills may be enhanced through their involvement in the model.)

The conclusion of the model's Educational Phase is reached when an exhaustive list of alternative solutions and their potential consequences has been compiled and discussed to the clients' satisfaction. The list always includes the alternatives of inaction which clarify that the clients' failure to act will have consequences no less significant than the consequences arising if the clients had acted. Thus, the clients become aware that they are in a "forced-choice" situation: Not to choose represents a choice with its own personal and social implications.

The Facilitation Phase

The Facilitation Phase of the Advocate Counseling Model begins when the forced-choice situation is defined to the mutual satisfaction of the clients and counselors. It is during this phase that an alternative from the list of choices is selected, affirmed, and consolidated prior to beginning the last phase. While the advocate counselors may occasionally display directive behavior during the Educational Phase, serving as resource persons and teachers, they maintain a nondirective role during the Facilitation Phase, encouraging the clients to select an alternative and indicating their willingness to accept whatever is chosen. When the client has arrived at a choice, the counselor tries to help the client give an affirmative format to the alternative, that is, a format in which the client is motivated to act *for* rather than *against* something.

The last step in the Facilitation Phase is for the clients to consolidate their commitment to the

alternative chosen by practicing the behavior involved in that choice. This process has three purposes. First, it gives the clients an opportunity to articulate and rehearse their alternative solutions. Second, it permits experimentation with the new behavior in the presence of family and friends, i.e., those who care and are willing to provide feedback about their reactions to the clients' actions. Finally, through such practice the clients discover whether or not these significant others constitute a source of positive reinforcement and support to sustain them through the Implementation Phase.

Consolidating commitment to the alternative chosen and practicing the behaviors it entails constitute the clients' first exposure to an action-oriented response to the problem. In the process of exposing the alternative to friends and family, the clients may discover that it does not stand the test of this limited field of reactors, and it may be necessary to return to the list of alternatives, reevaluate the consequences of each, and select another option. During this phase, in choosing an alternative from the list and developing a support system for its implementation, the clients become more independent of the advocate counselors and more aware of the necessity of doing their own advocating.

The Implementation Phase

The Implementation Phase begins as the clients and counselors recapitulate the process they have gone through, reassess the clients' confidence in the alternative selected, affirm the usefulness of a positive action orientation, and develop a procedural format which the clients will use to advocate for themselves. (The procedural format is based upon accurate knowledge of the particular institution.) If the clients do not have the requisite reading and writing skills for self-advocacy, proper application of the Implementation Phase will reinforce their attempts to obtain these skills.

Client-Advocate Tools. There are tools which must be used if the clients are to be successful in reversing the flow of accountabilty within an institution (i.e., from top-down to bottom-up) and in forcing the institution to be accountable primarily to those it was established to serve rather than merely to those it employs.

The first tool is the written document. The legal adage, *Quod non est in scripto non est in mundo* (What is not written does not exist), holds true in the advocacy process. Interaction between the client and the institution must be on the written communication level. Unless all exchanges are documented, these incidents do not count. Therefore, anything that is observed or heard relating to the problem should be written down in the form of a letter or writeup to build a record of documented evidence that such incidents occurred.

A letter to the institution describing the incident(s) and the problem is one important tool. Where time permits, the first letter to the proper office of an institution may be sent by regular mail. If a response is not received within a reasonable period of time, the next letter is sent via certified mail, return receipt requested. This process gives the client proof of mailing as well as proof that the letter was received by the institution. If the cost of this process is prohibitive and the location of the institution permits hand delivery, a receipt can be requested in person upon delivery. Letters sent in such a way tend to sound the alarm of possible future litigation and in all probability will be read and responded to by institutional personnel. The advocate counselor does not write first drafts of letters but does review the letter with the client to ensure that it states the client's exact intentions.

Personal contacts with the institutional personnel should be avoided, for as personal exchanges increase, documentation of these exchanges becomes difficult. In situations where these direct contacts cannot be avoided, a writeup must be made of every conversation between the client and all persons present. The writeup should be a transcript of the conversation prepared from memory or notes. Every effort should be made to make it accurate and honest, with an emphasis on what was said or done. Quotes should be included whenever possible.

Essential elements of the writeup are the names of those who were present during the conversation, the date, the beginning and ending time of the conversation, and its location. The client and advocate counselor decide together how the writeups will be used. Potential uses include:

1. Sending the writeup to the persons involved in the conversation and requesting any additions or corrections, along with a cover letter repeating the client's request concerning the problem and documenting the request's legitimacy

2. Sending the writeup to a person administratively superior to the institutional personnel involved in the conversation, with copies to local and/or State legislative representatives who might aid the client in solving the problem
3. Retaining the writeup in the client's chronological file for future occasions on which the client is advocating for himself or herself.

Letters and writeups presented as documentation by the client-advocate have a significant impact on institutional personnel. Client initiative represented by such documentation impresses upon institutional employees that the client has carefully recorded the incident and may be correct in his or her complaint. The institution is aware that embarrassing and costly litigation may result if the client is not satisfied with the institution's response.

It is extremely important that the client retain copies of all communication sent and received. On some occasions, written communications are accidentally or intentionally lost or delayed by institutional personnel. The client, therefore, must keep copies of everything, including forms sent from institutional personnel to the client which are to be written on and returned. If the client is required to go to the institution to complete forms or sign documents, it is essential that he or she request to be allowed to take such documents home for study prior to completing them. Copies of the completed documents should also be provided to the client by the particular institutional personnel with whom the client is dealing.

The Chronfile. Ideally, the client should construct and keep his or her own file with explicit knowledge that it belongs to him/her. This confidential file contains the accumulated record of documented evidence, i.e., letters, writeups, and responses to client correspondence. It is called the client's chronological file or, in short, the client's Chronfile. At no time does this file belong to the counselor or to the agency for which the client works; nor should the counselor or the agency be entitled to keep duplicates of any portion of the Chronfile without the client's explicit written permission.

The Chronfile is an important symbol of the client's emerging sense of control over his or her own life. It provides tangible evidence to the client that something is happening and thus provides reinforcement for his or her efforts. It also helps the client to determine what remains to be done and aids the client in reconstructing and improving the techniques used in the process. Finally, the Chronfile can educate others with similar problems.

Outcomes for the Institutions: The "Feed-In" Mechanism

The client's self-advocacy actions serve as a "feed-in" mechanism to the institution, i.e., the institution is forced to recognize the client's need. Recognition does not necessarily mean that institutional personnel will satisfy the client's demands, but they at least are likely to respond. Written or verbal requests for information or service constitute the most important feed-in mechanism. Such requests should ask for documentation or justification of the institutional response in terms of its legislative acts, rules and regulations, or administrative memoranda. This feed-in function can have the following effects upon the institution and the client.

1. It may force institutional contact persons to justify their actions according to written authority. Thus it reduces their prerogative to interpret problems on personal attitudinal bases which may be contrary to the intent of the institution's acts, rules and regulations, or administrative memoranda.
2. The feed-in mechanism may require the institutional contact persons to learn the basis for the administrative authority which they are implementing and which is contributing to the client's pain.
3. The client's complaint or request may give the institutional contact person access to knowledge which has been withheld to protect the status of those at higher levels in the institution. As the contact person better understands the rationale for the institutional policy, he or she may be better able to serve future clients with similar needs.
4. For those institutional contact persons who wish to change institutional policies to serve their clients more effectively, the client initiative enables the employees to have documentation as a lever to advocate for positive changes in institutional policies and procedures.

Outcomes for the Advocate Counselor: The Feed-Back Mechanism

In addition to performing a feed-in function to the institution, clients provide a source of feedback to the advocate counselor. By observing the client in action, the advocate counselor can assess his or her level of competency in using the concepts, tools, and skills taught in the advocate counseling process. Clients are also an important source of information and documentation concerning changes in the institution's operational rules and administrative memoranda. Thus, the counselor is provided with updated knowledge about the institution as well as a "feel" for the way in which the institution operates.

Ending the Advocate Counseling Process

Closure to the advocate counseling process comes either with the achievement of the preestablished goal or with the recognition on the part of the client advocate and the counselor that the institutional personnel are not going to grant the client the alternative sought. In a successful case, the goal is achieved primarily through the efforts of the client advocate, via the learning and implementation of assertive skills.

In cases where institutional personnel will not respond affirmatively to the needs of the client advocate, it may still be possible to negotiate a compromise or to pursue another alternative from the list. If neither of these options is satisfactory, the advocate counselor may suggest legal action and refer the client to an attorney. Such referrals are more likely to be accepted, since documentation of the facts in the case is thorough. In some instances, institutional personnel may grant the alternative desired rather than deal with possible litigation.

Although the initial effort of the client advocate may be unsuccessful, the experience of advocating is usually a positive one because the client has learned new assertive skills, given meaning to old skills, and developed some new values. Usually the client is less passive and more angry: Expressing the anger is justified and can be therapeutic. People who are angry because they know that they should have been treated differently are more likely to translate their anger into significant action than are people whose anger is based on frustration and ignorance of institutional responsibilities under law.

Case Studies of the Advocate Counseling Model

The Advocate Counseling Model has been used with client populations such as prisoners, students, consumers, veterans, the unemployed, the elderly, and the disabled. It has been employed by clients across a wide range of institutions, e.g., corrections, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, educational institutions, small businesses, municipal governments, and the armed forces. The model has dealt with an equally wide range of issues, including parole, home mortgages, auto loans, charge accounts, placement of exceptional children, financial aid, marriage contracts, military transfers, and retirement benefits.

The four case studies which follow have been selected for their relevance to the issues of institutional racism and sexism. To insure confidentiality, the names of individuals and institutions have been omitted. All of the client advocates were residents of a large midwestern city. None of them had prior legal training.

Case Study # 1

Description of the Client Advocate. The client was a 21-year-old white female with a high school diploma and 2 years of college experience. She lived alone in a Puerto Rican neighborhood of the city.

Institution Involved. Three institutions were involved in the client's situation or its resolution: a large, private hospital and the State and Federal agencies dealing with fair employment practices.

Description of the Problem. The client worked full time as a psychiatric assistant in a hospital. She was paid 25¢ per hour less than her male co-workers who performed the same duties. The males were paid more because their job description allegedly made them responsible for restraining violent patients. However, the client claimed that women workers, including herself, dealt with violent patients in the same manner as the men, often without the aid of their male co-workers. Therefore, the client was requesting the same wages as her male counterparts.

Development of Alternative and Consequences. These were delineated as follows:

1. The client could choose to do nothing. In this case, women would continue to receive 25¢ per hour less than men for the same job.
2. The client could refuse to deal with violent patients unless male co-workers were present. However, this alternative was dangerous for patients who might injure themselves before a male arrived.
3. She could try to organize female co-workers to act on behalf of an equal wage. There was no established organization representing the interests of psychiatric aides at this hospital. In the client's opinion, this effort would be unduly threatening to the hospital administration.
4. The client could document situations in which she restrained or helped to restrain violent patients with and without the aid of male co-workers.
5. She could quit the job with a letter of protest, pointing out that she had been treated inequitably and that without the job she would be unable to pay rent, tuition, etc.
6. She could use the Information Resource Center to determine Federal or State statutes or case law applying to the situation.
7. She could write a letter to the hospital administrator requesting equal pay, with possible outcomes of termination of employment or a positive response.

Implementation. The client selected alternatives numbers 4, 6, and 7. She then proceeded to document situations in which she was involved in the restraint of violent patients both with and without male co-workers. The method of documentation was a writeup of the incidents. Each was signed by witnesses and notarized soon after the date of the incident. With the advocate counselor's help, the client also began research into State and Federal statutes and case law to determine if grounds for requesting equal pay existed in writing.

She wrote a letter to the hospital administrator, requesting a copy of any hospital guidelines which stated that male workers should receive 25¢ per hour more than female workers. The response from the hospital administrator, a lawyer, came via the client's female supervisor, who questioned her concerning her intent. A writeup of this conversation and subsequent interchanges was completed. Female co-workers were sympathetic and generally supportive.

The client's legal research disclosed that there were Federal and State statutes supporting the concept of equal pay for equal work. Case law research also disclosed one case in a Federal court of appeals in which the judges held that physical differences between men and women justified different pay scales in psychiatric hospitals. The client reassessed her situation and decided that she would proceed with alternative No. 7. She wrote the letter that included the writeups. Her affirmative format emphasized that she enjoyed her work and that her sole interest was in maintaining and improving the patient care at the hospital.

In a meeting with the hospital administrator, the client's request was denied. No appeal was allowed. She confirmed this conversation by letter shortly after the meeting. The client made copies for her Chronfile and then filed a complaint with the appropriate State and Federal agencies, citing unfair employment practices. Although personnel at the State level attempted to discourage her efforts they said they would investigate the matter.

Result. Approximately 7 months after the client first began using the Advocate Counseling Model, the hospital adjusted the pay of female staff to equal that of male staff. She did not receive notice from the State or Federal agency, from the hospital administrator, or from her supervisor that any action had been taken. The pay differential remains in effect at other hospitals in the city. The client is continuing her complaint action to recover wages lost as a result of the discrepancy. At no time were there any recriminations against her. The cost of her actions (including copies, mailing, etc.) was approximately $25.00. It involved about 10 hours of counselor time and 30 to 50 hours of client time over a period of 8 months.

Case Study #2

Description of the Client Advocate. The client was a 42-year-old black male with a high school education. He was a homeowner in the city's black community.

Institutions Involved. Two institutions were involved: a municipal department and a Federal agency which funds a rat control program.

Description of the Problem. The area in which the client resided became infested with rats. Over a period of 6 months, telephone requests to the city for aid in controlling the problem did not result in any positive action. The client also had called a local TV helpline and his alderman without success.

Development of Alternatives and Consequences. These were delineated as follows:

1. The client could choose to do nothing. In this case, the problem would not be solved and probably would get worse.
2. He could continue to phone the municipal department to request help. However, there was evidence from past incidents that this effort would not result in positive action from that department.
3. He could hire professional rat exterminators; but the cost was prohibitive, and the rats were a neighborhood problem as well.
4. The client could try to organize his neighborhood to put pressure on the city. This would be very difficult in his estimation, since most neighborhood residents did not own property and had only a limited interest in rat control.
5. He could use the Information Resource Center to find out which Federal agency was responsible for funding the municipal rat control program and write a letter requesting help in mobilizing the municipal department administering the program locally. There was some assurance of a response to such action, which also would provide the beginning of a written record of institutional responsiveness.
6. The client could purchase poison to kill rats. This alternative was expensive and also raised the question of his liability if neighborhood pets or children were affected.

Implementation. The client selected alternative No. 5 He wrote a letter stating the problem in factual terms and in an affirmative format i.e., "The purpose of my request is to maintain the value of my property and improve the living environment of my neighborhood". He also included a statement requesting service, e.g., "I request that you/your agency." The statement of fact included reference to prior attempts to resolve this problem by phone. The letter also indicated that the client knew that the program funds originated within an agency of the Federal Government. The letter was sent to the municipal agency via certified mail, return receipt requested. A copy was sent (again by certified mail) to the alderman for the client's district.

Result. A crew from the municipal department responsible for rat control arrived at the client's home and proceeded to implement the rat control program 2 days after the letters were mailed and 1 day before the return receipts were received. The alderman called shortly after the letters had been mailed to check on the progress of the rat control crew. The cost of action, including the certified mail and copies, was approximately $4.00. Two to 3 hours of counselor time and 5 to 10 hours of client time were involved.

Case Study #3

Description of the Client Advocate. The client was a 26-year-old Latino male with a high school general equivalency degree and some college experience. His family migrated to the mainland when he was 16. He now lived in a Puerto Rican neighborhood of the midwestern city.

Institution Involved. This was the office of his State's governor.

Description of the Problem. The client had been convicted in the State court of a felony offense for which he was sentenced to 3 years on probation. Three years after the conviction, he was making plans to open a restaurant and discovered that he was not considered eligible for some of the required licenses. He was informed that he would have to obtain a pardon in order to acquire them. This would necessitate hiring a lawyer, whose fees would range from $500 to $2,000.

Development of Alternatives and Consequences. These are delineated as follows:

1. The client could choose to do nothing. In this case he would not get the licenses.
2. He could hire a lawyer at high cost.
3. He could get the licenses in someone else's name, but this is fraudulent under State law. In addition, he would lack legal control over a business in which he had the major investment.

4. He could falsify the license applicaton. Again, this is fraudulent and would be a continuing source of anxiety.
5. He could move to another State at great inconvenience and expense to himself and his family.
6. He could attempt to obtain the pardon himself. This would take a good deal of time and some money.

Implementation. The client selected alternative No. 6. He wrote to the governor's office requesting current information regarding the process by which a pardon could be obtained. He also consulted a legal forms manual to prepare a pardon petition in the proper format. He compiled a resume and wrote a letter requesting support from employers and friends. In addition, he prepared a petition requesting an unconditional pardon. He attached the letters of reference to the petition and submitted them to the governor's office. He also appeared personally before the pardon board.

Result. A conditional pardon was granted, which would become unconditional in 2 years if the client had no convictions for serious offenses. This change made him eligible for the licenses. The cost of the resolution and action, including travel to the State capital for the hearing, copies of documents, certified mail, etc., was approximately $50. About 10 hours of counselor time and 25-40 hours of client time were involved over a period of 4 months.

Case Study #4

Description of the Client Advocate. The client was a 38-year-old Latino female with a high school education.

Institution Involved. The only institution involved was a large department store.

Description of the Problem. The client was in the process of getting a divorce. She was shopping in a department store and was making a purchase with a credit card which identified her as married. When the clerk checked with the credit department, the request for credit was denied because of nonpayment of previous bills. The clerk told the client to go to the credit office to clear up the matter. The credit office clerk stated that she could not have any more credit until the bills were paid. The clerk also stated, "You people are all alike. You never pay your bills on time."

Development of Alternatives and Consequences. These were delineated as follows:

1. The client could choose to do nothing. In this case her credit rating would not improve, and the store might initiate a small claims action against her. The clerk also would continue her prejudiced behavior toward persons with a Spanish accent.
2. She could report the incident to a community group and request that they boycott the store until the clerk was reprimanded and the credit rating restored. However, she then would have to discuss the divorce proceeding with "strangers" in the community and face further publicity of the divorce if there were a boycott.
3. She could speak to the store manager about the incident but was uncomfortable speaking to those in authority because of an English-language problem.
4. She could do something violent which would harm the store and clerk. However, moral considerations outweighed the possible satisfaction.
5. She could write a letter explaining the situation and attach a writeup of the incident with the clerk. This approach might bring positive results without involving the problems of the other alternatives. If it were unsuccessful, all of the other options remained open (except the do-nothing alternative).
6. Finally, she could initiate legal action. This would involve hiring a lawyer, probably at a prohibitive cost.

Implementation. The client selected alternative No. 5. She wrote a letter stating the problem, the confusion caused by her former husband having the same credit number, and the clerk's prejudicial comment. She included a statement of affirmative format and a specific request:

> Please send me a list of the items charged, and I will pay for those which are in my possession. Cancel my name from the account numbered . . . and issue me a new credit card under the following name. I have had good service from your store in the past, but the conduct of the clerk made me extremely uncomfortable. I am sure it would make my friends and others with the same ethnic background uncomfortable as well. I am requesting (1) that you or the proper official of the store include this letter and the accompany-

ing writeup in the clerk's personnel file, (2) that she be given verbal and written reprimands and that the latter be placed in her file, and (3) that I receive a written apology from the store and a copy of the written reprimand.

Result. All documents requested from the department store were received.

Comments on the Case Studies

All four cases dealt with institutional racism or sexism. Each client advocate felt wronged by an institution and used the Advocate counseling Model to resolve their grievances.

In Case No. 1, a white female was underpaid for the same tasks performed by her male counterparts. As a result of this woman's efforts, the institution responded favorably by raising her pay to that of male co-workers. The client's impact upon the institution resulted not only in her own pay raise but also affected the pay scales of all other women in the hospital.

Case No. 2 involved a black male residing in a predominantly black neighborhood in which the quality of public health and sanitary control was extremely poor. According to the client, the low quality of services was due to the racist attitudes of the municipal agency handling the neighborhood's sanitation problems. However, as a result of his self-advocacy efforts, an extremely quick and efficient rat control program emerged for his residence.

Case No. 3 illustrates institutional racism in yet another manner. The client advocate, an Hispanic male, was discriminated against because of his inability to afford attorney's costs for obtaining a pardon for his previous felony conviction. This situation is particularly common among ethnic minorities of the lower socioeconomic classes. However, through his self-advocacy efforts the client advocate was able to bypass the traditional attorney route and obtain a pardon at a far reduced cost. Changes in this instance included an increase in assertive behaviors on the client's part but not in the legal profession's responsiveness to minority needs.

Institutional racism in the classic sense of direct discrimination is evident in Case No. 4, that of the Hispanic female customer of the department store. As a result of her advocacy behaviors she was able to obtain a written apology from the store as well as reprimand for the clerk. Although there was no evidence that store policy changed, the clerk and the store officials are well aware that they cannot afford to lose customers because of discriminatory remarks.

In each of the cases presented, it should be noted that the client advocate attempted to advocate for his or her own problem and not for any class action or pervasive institutional changes. Case No. 1 did produce wider changes in hospital policy (equal pay for equal work), but this was an individual effort.

In all four situations the client advocate attempted to educate institutional employees who were operating contrary to their own institutions' official standards of quality. And in each case the client advocate learned a set of assertive, positive behaviors which produced tangible results. Note also that the institutions described did not undergo massive change; instead, they responded in minimal fashion to the client advocates' behaviors. This has been the typical experience in the use of the Advocate Counseling Model. To expect broad institutional changes from every advocate counseling application would indeed be naive. For such change to take place, more self-advocacy incidents would have to occur. However, it is reasonable to assume that positive changes in institutions can occur if the individuals receiving the discrimination or disservice begin to assert themselves affirmatively.

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Chapter 19

Institutional Racism: An Impediment to Effective Involvement in Community Boards

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ABSTRACT

This paper identifies factors that contribute to ineffectiveness of community boards as structures for providing meaningful citizen participation in the planning and implementation of public human services. The authors identify problems originating from the service institutions, professionals, the communities serviced, and the boards themselves. The general factors of institutional racism and classism are used to explain why each of these elements blocks effective community participation in human services. Several general suggestions are offered that focus on developing an effective leadership in the community, particularly through the development of competency-based training programs.

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Introduction

The search for a sense of community is age old. Man has persistently sought a social order that is responsive to individual and collective survival needs. As those needs — economic, social, health, mental health — have become more complex, we have struggled to find ways to solve the problems while maintaining the quality of the social order. It appears that the complexity of our current problems has led to solutions which endanger our sense of community, for the emerging social order has become dominated by technologies, bureaucracies, and professional "expert" guilds. Programs developed to meet individual and community needs have been defined as the domain of professionals—their technologies and their structures. As this trend continues, the people who "benefit" from the services have little, if anything, to say about how service delivery approaches are to be designed and implemented.

A second time-honored component of the search for community is the individual's pursuit of the means to control and bring order to the world. This pursuit seems contradictory to the above-mentioned strategy of assigning control to professional service providers. This second component is more consistent with community members' demands that society develop structures that not only meet survival needs but also allow a degree of community control over these structures. One such channel that the modern human service bureaucracy has created in response to the demand for citizen control has been the community board which allows community members to act as "representatives" of their fellow citizens by providing "input" into these service systems. The underlying assumption has been that a viable alliance could be created between the technically sophisticated human service system and individuals searching for some control over the forces affecting their lives. It is within the context of this sought-after alliance that we present some of the pragmatic difficulties involved in developing effective community boards. The effective board is defined as one that allows community residents to have a voice in determining the focus, goals, and objectives of service programs operating in their community.

Historical Intent of Community Boards

Nassi (1978) noted that the efforts to involve citizens in the formal service systems in their communities are over a half century old. Nassi highlights the widely different forms that participation has taken—from volunteer groups raising funds and political support to figure-head advisory councils, to community boards controlling funding, policy, and direction. Despite the specific means employed, the intentions for seeking such community involvement in service institutions have been quite varied and on occasion quite lofty. The lists of goals including discussions of community participation are numerous and lengthy (for example, see Mogoluf 1974). In line with our gene-

ral opening statements, it seems that the community board has been created with some of the following intentions:

- to promote democracy in local communities through greater citizen participation in public decisions affecting their lives and their community
- to improve the quality of American community life by creating channels for meaningful involvement that would be an antidote to the reported sense of alienation, isolation, and helplessness
- to correct social injustices of racism and classism by bringing into the service institutions members of community groups which were not represented in the professional service guilds
- to enhance the effectiveness of the particular service delivery system by helping to identify needs and by reporting impact of programs on the community
- to create a knowledgeable, active, and effective consumer body in the human services by sharing information and responsibility around service delivery between the providers and the users

Major investment by the Federal Government in the community board as the channel through which to achieve the above intentions occurred during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Specifically, the authors view the community action programs and the community mental health center movement as incorporating the intent of highlighting community understanding and involvement in the public social services area. The passage of the 1963 Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act called for a mental health center in the community, for a public mental health system that was fully integrated into community life and decisionmaking. The 1964 Economic Opportunities Act instituted a national "poverty program" built around maximum feasible participation of the communities involved. Federal officials, professional service providers, and community activists expected that citizen involvement in program planning and implementation would lead to a substantial improvement in the ability of these service institutions to carry out the task of meeting economic, social, health, and mental health needs. Most dramatic positive results were expected in sensitizing political and service circles affecting the lives of minorities and economically disadvantaged populations. Through community participation on school, community action, model cities, health and mental health boards, policymakers predicted increased competence in both service providers and community members.

From Intention to Implementation

The widespread utilization of community boards has been discussed as a phenomenon of the sixties. Beliefs were shared by key Federal Government officials, professional service providers, and community activitists that community members and service providers needed a vehicle through which citizens could give input to the public human service programs. Reviews of citizen participation in the seventies (Kane 1975; Mogoluf 1974; Cohen 1976; Nader in Musto 1975, etc.) have offered many different reasons for the limited success of efforts to involve community residents in meaningful (i.e., influential) ways in the public human service system through community boards.

Problems in the Service Institution

Much of the responsibility for the ineffective transition from intention to implementation lies with the members of the service institutions and their Federal sponsors. Goldstein (1974) pointed out that successful introduction of new people into a human organization (second/new careers, hardcore unemployed, elderly, volunteers, etc.) is primarily determined by the receptivity of the host institution. In a related study, Hurley (1976) found that the tasks performed by community residents as paraprofessionals in community mental health centers depended considerably on the receptivity — values and climate — evidenced by the professional service providers. Both the general and specific statements point to the critical role played by the members of the service organization in making the proposed alliance a reality. The authors have identified several "stress" points within the service institutions as critical in sabotaging any effective service agency and local community alliance. The factors identified are: (1) the condescending attitude of the professional regarding some community members; (2) professional guild and

turf battles; (3) inconsistency in the commitment of the Federal Government as sponsor; (4) cooperation, containing, and distraction of community board members; and (5) the failure to provide a "learning" environment within which to build this new alliance.

Professional Attitudes and the Pseudo-Debate: Advisory vs. Policy Roles

The primary obstacle within the service institutions seems to stem from the attitudes of political leaders and professional service providers that the "true" expertise in developing effective service programs lies in the exclusive domain of the service provider. This belief is adhered to by many professionals throughout the human service network in this country. Implicit in this attitude is the belief that service professionals know best what the community needs and, perhaps more importantly, what Federal funding requires. These attitudes on the part of professionals have crystallized in the continuing debate about the "appropriate" role of citizen participation — advisory vs. policy. Most service providers resist relinquishing any control of budgetary or policy matters, especially to community "amateurs." Community residents are considered to have insufficient knowledge, understanding, or sophistication for developing effective policy or budgets for their service organizations. This judgment by professionals is evidenced by the statement that "professionals know what services the consumer needs; however, the consumer can respond to this by advising the agency as to how adequately the services are meeting their needs." The professionals' commitment to such positions is evidenced by the fact that, in our experience, the overwhelming majority of community boards formed since the early sixties have had their powers limited to advising on needs and program impact, not to sharing responsibility for policy, goals, and resource distribution. An interesting study in this regard is reported by Kupst (1975) of 18 community mental health boards. Regarding community members' motivation for participation on these boards, most program directors and staff perceived personal prestige and status as the key factor, but board members themselves reported that the main motivating factor was service to the community and center. Even more frustrating was Kupst's finding that few board members saw input into programs and policy as an important part of their role (although members did define their role as making certain that the center served the needs of the community). Hence, professional attitudes and the doubts of board members about the extent of their role have combined to hinder the potential involvement of community board members. The pragmatic political victory here is the assumption of control and authority over human service programs and the taxpayers' monies that support such programs by the service institution's members, not by the community's members.

Professional Guild and Turf Battles

The investment of the Federal Government in the community board in the sixties ought not to obscure a simultaneous investment of the Government in the helping professions. Funding available in the community mental health and community action programs also involved the helping professions in the public service system on an unparalleled scale. The mental health and community action programs have opened up rich new territory — positions, programs, structures, monies, and political influence — to the helping professions, especially psychology, psychiatry, and social work. Professional groups have invested time, energy, and money in lobbying efforts designed to insure access to these resources for each of the service guilds. Indeed, it seems fairly evident that the major long-term benefactors of such programs may be the professional service providers rather than the consumers. The community mental health center movement is one example in point. There are a growing number of statements critical of the "turf" battles being waged by the mental health professions around issues such as licensing, qualifications to receive third-party payments, degree requirements for center positions, job descriptions and responsibilities, etc. Musto (1975) analyzes the community mental health movement as a "move to power" by the mental health professions. Musto describes the policy planning not as one of increased sensitivity to community needs and responsibility but as a major and stunning victory for the mental health professions in gaining access to political and economic influence. As Musto describes these developments, the rise (and fall) of the mental health center movement was contingent on the mental health professions' ability (and

subsequent failure) to sell Federal officials on their faith in "omnipotent and omniscient mental health technology . . . capable of transforming society" (p. 75). Kane (1975) explains the vagueness in the Government's commitment to community participation in mental health as precipitated by "political in-fighting" between conservative hospital-oriented members and the liberal community-oriented members of the joint commission. The compromise between these expert groups led to a diminishing of control and participation by the community. Finally, Nassi (1978) defines the local professional mental health power structure as a major stumbling block to community participation. Nassi discusses the local networks of service bureaucracies that work together and too often control professional and financial human service resources. Large-scale investment of Federal funding in the human services has created, in part, a struggle among the professional interest groups to insure, protect, and enhance the self-interests of the various service guilds. In such a battle, community control, even participation, may easily become a second-order factor.

Federal Government Commitment: Sponsors and Initiators

As stated repeatedly here, the commitment of the resources of the Federal Government to the community health and action programs in the early sixties allowed the development of human services on their present large scale. Given the fact that the financial resources of the Federal Government are simply the tax contributions of its citizens, it would seem logical to build citizen participation into the determination of how such money ought to be spent. While the Federal policymakers have repeatedly stated such a commitment, the authors define a third major deterrent in the service institutions arising from the lack of clear and consistent policies and actions from the relevant Federal sponsors. Mogoluf (1974) complains that "there is no agreement in Federal policy or practice on what citizen participation itself does or should mean . . . citizen participation at the Federal level is erratic, piecemeal, misunderstood, and perhaps not really cared about" (pp. 67, 76). NIMH Community Mental Health Center regulations have been vague, allowing the exact nature of community participation to vary from center to center.

While regulations regarding community participation have been unclear, Federal regulations about program content and structure have been concrete, detailed, and extensive (e.g., Community Mental Health Center regulations regarding required services, construction, etc.). Such Federal initiative has served the reform function by standardizing (and in many cases upgrading) the quality and quantity of community-based services. At the same time, however, such initiative has been at the expense of local community initiatives. Service program administrators have become more sensitive to Federal guidelines, directions, and regional superiors than to the community. Discussion of program planning has become focused around complex Federal rules and regulations. Such required technical expertise serves to the advantage of the service bureaucrat and the disadvantage of the community member. Benz (1975) reports how the central staff of one service agency used their technical knowledge as "political weapons" to build up their own power base. Shifting guidelines from Federal sponsors have also served to confuse and frustrate community-based planning and prioritizing. One board on which one author was a member was frustrated repeatedly by the center's executive director who masterfully immobilized the board's planning with declarations such as: "Most recent Federal regulations have changed that requirement;" "Word from the regional office is that new priorities are being drawn up . . . We had better wait to see;" "The Feds keep changing. I don't know what we can do other than sit tight 'til we hear (or get approval)." All of these delays were clearly beyond his control or responsibility!

The final criticism of the Federal Government's role involves the failure to deliver on their decree for citizen involvement through program funding channels. For the most part, funds for further program development and implementation have generally gone to agencies that have demonstrated the ability to write appropriately relevant grants and to develop the stipulated service programs, regardless of the degree or quality of community involvement in the planning or implementing. Scientists tell us that the effective (e.g., long-surviving) species are the ones that adapt quickly to environmental changes. It seems that the effective (at least long-surviving) service agency is the one that adapts most quickly to changes in the Federal funding environment. This agency forsees Federal funding emphasis, submits tailored grants, and beats out

competitors for the available support. Federal funds reserved for programs that require citizen input are being received by agencies that have little or no interest in creating a community mechanism or board that assumes valid input from potential consumers of those services. One local community services program recently received an increase in its Federal funding in spite of a community statement of service ineffectiveness, the investigation and subsequent resignation of its director, and the publicly expressed frustration and threatened resignation of its board members. Consequently, it is the authors' opinion that Federal funding has been a double-edged sword in the sphere of human services: Federal sponsorship has diminished community initiative, diminished service providers' accountability to the local community, added a confusing complexity to planning discussions, confused and immobilized long-range community-based planning efforts, and failed to back its commitment to community involvement with any meaningful contingencies (e.g., money).

Cooptation, Containment, and Distraction

The fourth criticism involves the use of strategies by service professionals that co-opt, limit, and distract the efforts of community residents. Service agency administrators have been able to muffle community dissatisfaction with ineffective or irrelevant services by appointing spokespersons for dissident groups to advisory boards, task forces, investigative committees, etc. Most often, such groups have little real impact on institutional policy. Yet, the time that spokespersons spend on the committees (e.g., meetings, homework, etc.) and their identification with the work and outcome of their groups often result in a decrease in time, energy, and personal investment in clarifying and defending dissident positions, for continued public criticism may often lead to public embarrassment over the group's ineffectiveness and/or private dissonance over loyalty to opposing groups. Also, by involving community residents on boards, service providers are often able to lead residents into accepting professional terms, definitions of problems, and acceptable solutions. One strategy is to create the attitude among community members that they have been appointed to an august elite; that they are among the chosen, enlightened few; that they have sense enough, knowledge enough, and influence enough to be eligible and privileged to serve in this capacity. One author recalls the introduction of new board members from a "dissident" community group. Following a tour of the physically attractive facilities, the new members were taken to the board room and introduced to "key" board members — the man for whom the board was named, the man who had used his political influence to gain appropriate support, zoning changes, etc., to clear the way for the opening of the center, and the man who had donated the money initially to get the center "off the ground." The new board members took their seats humbly at the end of the large conference table.

A second strategy is the presentation of biased or *limited information*. Since board members meet irregularly, most are dependent on staff to provide and edit relevant information. Often, information is omitted, filtered, "translated" into "lay" terms, and technically confounded to the point that the programmatic solutions offered by the professional staff seem to be the only "informed," intelligible, and realistic way to plan and act. At the suggestion of its board, one mental health center held a series of public meetings to get "community input" into its planning for a comprehensive center. Six meetings were held, each lasting for 3 hours and dealing with a given program component. Planning was based on this information. Board members were informed that, due to the enormity of the task, a summary could not be written, but board members should make the effort to come to the center and listen to the tapes of the meetings, or simply hear the report of the staff on their impressions of the meetings and their suggestions for planning. (The meetings were held on Thursday mornings, a logistical tactic that limited board attendance.)

A third strategy is the use of containment by focusing board members on specified tasks to the point of dealing with parts, but not the integration of the whole. Eighteen different subcommittees are formed to deal with the many different programs of a proposed comprehensive mental health program. While board members study and report on each of these, the professional administrators integrate, give priority to, and specify the nature and direction of the comprehensive enterprise. Administrators know that by keeping community residents scattered on different subtasks, they can defuse criticism while still engineering the overall design

and implementation of the agency. As mentioned previously, changing Federal mandates (e.g., from delinquency to addiction, to elderly, to job training; or from inpatient to outpatient, to consultation and education, to community group homes, and back) also serve to distract and confuse directed community participation. A final strategy involves encouraging and/or allowing board members to discuss irrelevant topics to the exclusion of other topics. Board members may spend meetings discussing the personalities of people working within the service institution. Board members may discuss peripheral agenda items which are organizationally insignificant issues, such as allotments received for attending meetings. Although the staff and remuneration are important parts of developing effective boards and agencies, such discussions become a problem when they direct attention and energy from core board concerns — policy, program priorities, budgeting of program resources. Such discussions are, more often than not, "jive" devices: exercises in meaningless community participation. All of these strategies produce the same effect. Time-consuming efforts by dedicated community board members are thwarted in a way that ensures the inadequate, ineffective, and at least irrelevant functioning of the community board.

Failure To Provide a "Learning Environment"

Actual participation by community residents in the decisionmaking process of the institutions that affect their lives is minimal. For most community board participants, involvement in such a process is new and, hence, requires some period of learning how to perform the required tasks. Our final criticism of the service institutions is the failure of their staff to provide training that would have prepared board members for the responsibility. Even in what is seemingly a liberal, sincere effort to involve the indigenous population in the policymaking process of an institution, the manner in which people are allowed to remain unprepared to deal with issues strongly implies that institutional racist and classist postures still prevail. While some institutions have developed training programs for their boards, far too often training has not been appropriate for assisting community residents with an understanding of policymaking processes, managerial responsibilities, technicalities of regulations, grants, budgets, etc. Many people now recognize that the withholding of adequate training of community people in leadership, policymaking, and the directing of community boards hastens the demise of potentially fruitful ongoing mechanisms for community input (Silverman and Mossman 1978).

In several instances, early in the process, community boards were publicly exposed and criticized by professionals for making errors or unreasonable decisions. The authors feel that the appropriate climate — one receptive to initial trial-and-error learning and mistakes — was not provided by professionals too ready to diminish the credibility and political power of the community board. Burke (1968) declared that the failure of community boards is attributable to the lack of permission to make mistakes. In the failure to provide appropriate training and an appropriate environment (the space and time) for learning to handle the responsibility, professionals sabotaged any prospects for a long-term alliance with community residents.

Problems in the Community

Community residents had several options in defining their role in the service agency-community relationship precipitated and maintained by the members of the institutions. People in the community have the option of not accepting the responsibility and channels defined for community involvement. It is also conceivable that community members could have refused to sit on such boards or demanded and negotiated more viable roles in planning and implementation. In fact, service providers' ability to keep the community ignorant and minimally involved regarding program planning and implementation has been enhanced by the community's lack of desire or ability to maintain commitment, continuity, and followup. Community members have had the opportunity to decide within their own groups whether, how, and where they intended to influence service institutions that affect their lives and spend their tax dollars. However, community board members find it increasingly more difficult to sustain time and interest.

Influence, Style, Leadership, and Change

The *style* factor relates to the manner in which community groups asserted themselves in the early

days of the community control era. In the sixties, the presence of a strong community voice and leadership usually became apparent when specific crises arose in the community that had a clear and concrete impact (e.g., slum landlords and housing conditions, police-community confrontation, racial disturbances in the school, employment discrimination, etc.). Community involvement in the service institutions usually occurred during crisis situations. A valuable tool of community groups in these intense but short-term involvements was the use of confrontation politics as the major vehicle for precipitating change in the institutions. Confrontation was not only good as a means of changing institutions but also had clear, positive, and immediate impact upon community members. Today, the uses of nonnegotiable demands, "sit-ins," and "hardlining" have less impact in the institution-community relationship. Confrontation politics are necessarily of time-limited usefulness, short-term tolerance, and intense but brief energy investments. Residents currently involved in community influence find themselves resorting to compromise and ongoing negotiation to bring about institutional changes. Such strategies demand more time and energy in the form of careful preparation of both information and strategy. Results are much less dramatic, immediate, and visible. At the same time, it is becoming more and more difficult psychologically and economically for community residents to maintain their commitment.

It seems that much of the impact on social service institutions has been accomplished either by new career positions in which community residents have served as paid staff members or as advocates, or by members of boards who had managed to receive some remuneration to offset childcare and travel expenses. The new careers movement has become glutted in some instances and questioned in others in terms of the ability of new careerists to maintain their power and their ties to the community. Active participation on community boards frequently precludes second jobs which many of the poor need in order to maintain the economic viability of their families. To trade off extra work hours or a second job for expenses becomes a less viable inducement for participation when the trade off also involves a long-term commitment as current strategies dictate. With delayed rewards, community residents' commitment to meaningful roles in influencing service institutions can only diminish.

The *leadership* factor relates to the manner in which community members come to the forefront, wield political influence, and sustain themselves psychologically. Early styles of confrontation dictated assertive leadership styles. In the mid and late sixties, crises-skilled leadership was prevalent in most minority and low-income communities, and to some extent effective in changing policies and programs in service institutions. But, the leadership that existed in the sixties no longer exists nor can replacements be readily identified. This is not attributable to chance but to the style and economic factors cited above. Leaders suffer "burn out" trying to sustain an effective level of involvement, as demanded by new strategies, and still meet family, economic and personal needs. A second reason is that leadership trains new leadership. Institutions which were geared toward developing community leaders capable of making an impact on service bureaucracies seldom, if ever, had adequate, effective training for community members in policy development, administration, programing, and budgeting. These skills, so necessary in current negotiating styles, were ones that, once imparted, could be passed on to succeeding leaders. Another reason involves the external definition of "indigenous" leaders. To an extent, many of us were involved in the sixties' movement that allowed institutions to identify our leaders and focused on the "movie star citizen" — all too often only self-appointed brokers. These brokers indicated that they spoke for the community, but many were interested in personal benefit and gain. In fact, some such leaders remained active only as long as they could be used by the institutions to maintain a level of control over other "dissident" activists in the community. Those persons who demonstrate leadership ability are soon recognized and defined as desirable, and such identification may lead to unrealistically high demands for participation or to being hired by a program that needs a vocal, hard-working and upwardly visible "indigenous" resident. This latter acquisition of meaningful and usually good paying employment is a benefit to the person and an asset to the program but, paradoxically, a loss to the community. In many cases, the person, at best psychologically and at worst physically, leaves the community. As salaried staff, the person comes to identify more with the employer than with the neighbors. Or, with new financial ability, the person may move to another ("better") location for such reasons as children's educational

needs, better physical living space, or more "breathing room." In both cases, there is a void in community leadership that requires identifying, recruiting, and training new leaders. Since this process is difficult and fraught with many pitfalls and shortcomings, turnover of leadership is a major difficulty and a main factor in lessening community influence in the human service bureaucracy.

The authors have tried to highlight the way in which community influence, especially its demands on participants, has become increasingly time consuming and hence economically more costly. At the same time, people who are identified as effective leaders are often burnt out or induced to assume other roles. This interaction does not help in developing ongoing community leaders who can negotiate effectively with the service agencies in the interest of the community's welfare.

Problems on the Boards

The actual processes of the board as a group become the focal points for the interaction of the problems discussed above. In addition, the reality of the board itself as a group of individuals with personal and public histories presents difficulties in and of itself. The authors would like to discuss three specific difficulties that tend to minimize the board's impact: representativeness of board members, self-defeating interactions among members, and the lack of self-sustaining mechanisms for board members.

The principle assumption of most community boards is *representativeness.* Members of the board will "speak for" particular community interest groups. In this simple assumption lie numerous problems. First, there are multiple leaders in a given community with multiple perspectives rooted in often competing self-interests. Board members may represent established and influential organizations in the community, while residents excluded or unaffiliated remain unrepresented. Attempts to remedy this situation by creating alternative channels such as community-wide elections have fallen short. Voter turnout has been low in such elections, a process that only serves to enhance the prospects of representatives from organized interest groups that can "turn the vote" (see Shostak 1966). In other situations, representative board members cannot be found. One author witnessed a community-wide recruitment campaign to find a black resident willing to be involved in a mental health board. Cohen (1976) argues that many community members refuse to participate not because of lack of expertise but because of frustration by past attempts to change service institutions. Once willing board members are found, they are cajoled into staying, regardless of representative issues. In a study of 18 mental health boards, Kupst (1975) found that 85 percent of the board members surveyed were the original board members, and 56 percent of them did not live in the community being served by the board's programs. While such representation factors do tend to provide service institutions with a live board, many of the issues cited tend to insure minimal political influence, either within the service institution or within the community.

A second difficulty that board members may bring upon themselves is the inability to work together as a group of people. Different backgrounds, styles, community affiliations—all serve as potential stress points in the board's attempt to develop a working group. For community boards to enhance their own knowledge, ability, and confidence to make inputs into program planning, a great deal of hard work has to be undertaken. First, the board must maintain an active, attentive involvement. The task of identifying board leaders and having other members move to the position of followers for the purpose of developing an effective work group is essential. Too often, personality clashes, dislikes, past "agendas," negative interpersonal attitudes, and competition for the spotlight tend to stagnate the board in its own interpersonal maze. To keep members involved, board leaders must learn to share the spotlight, delegate some responsibility to other members to carry out board tasks, and develop viable working relations among the people on the board.

The final factor involves the inability of board members to sustain *themselves.* The amount of time and energy required for effective board participation has been highlighted several times. Board members frequently fail to create a socioeconomic climate for themselves that not only enhances task performance but also enhances psychological rewards of affiliation, camaraderie, humor, consensual validations, approval and self-esteem. Service professionals and board members share a critical responsibility for creating the necessary confidence in board members that they are capable of carrying out their responsibilities. Both groups share the responsibility for creating

the necessary reward—that members feel "fair exchange" for their time and energy.

To summarize, this immediate discussion has pointed to difficulties in the board itself that hinder effectiveness, specifically, representation, self-defeating interaction styles, and failure to develop a satisfactory interpersonal climate. Such difficulties only serve to complicate the problems originating in the institutions of the community.

Ineffective Community Boards and Institutional Racism

At this point, it seems appropriate to address the issues of why these specific problems exist and why these problems are allowed to continue to exist. Clearly the factors against effective community participation through the board structure are numerous, represent major obstacles, and serve in a complementary fashion to produce a self-perpetuating cycle.

The service professionals play a major role in maintaining the ineffectiveness of community participation. The problems in the community will be major obstacles in minority and/or low-income communities where salaries are low, unemployment is high, and the historical relevance and effectiveness of service institutions are minimal. Given that these specific problems exist and continue to result in decreased power and decreased relevant resources, a general explanation seems compelling — the pervasive practices of institutional racism and classism continue to persist. The terms "institutional racism" and "classism" mean the negative attitudes and behaviors that are shown to those who are clearly unlike the majority because of color or money. These terms do not necessarily indicate overt bigotry; rather they point to reflexive attitudes of "business-as-usual" toward those who have different lifestyles and needs. Klem (1978) has defined the relationship between institutional racism and ineffective community control:

> Institutional racism is at one and the same time a major manifestation and cardinal factor leading to serious deficiencies in community participation and community control of human services by those they purport to serve. The racism in staffing and provision of services practiced by most human service systems is usually outside the awareness of non-minority workers and administrators. . . . They do not recognize it (racism) themselves or acknowledge it (p. 17).

Thus, inherent in the ability of community boards to retain effective leadership and direction is the fact that this society — racist and classist as it is — has established various levels of impediments and devices of containment. Community boards appear to be well-meaning efforts on the part of those in power to share and assist community residents in planning programs to meet community needs. What often go unseen are the impediments of these same efforts that actually militate against the community's ability to develop competencies in service policy and planning. This destructive outcome for community residents has to be guarded against through identification, training, and active campaigns that will enhance the community's ability to deal with the covert, reflexive racist postures of too many human service programs.

Recommendations

Groups of community residents can develop sufficient confidence and sophistication to work with receptive service institutions in developing policy and in implementing programs to meet effectively community needs. The existence of community boards with real community control over the institutions' functioning provides an opportunity for professional service providers not only to enhance their own functioning but also to contribute to the quality of life of the community generally. This confrontation takes the form of conscientiously training the community leadership to be better informed and skilled and encouraging participation among the community residents. The issue involves recognizing some of the real problems discussed here versus spurious ones. It is essential that the focus of the service institution be that of maintaining a positive direction for program development and community involvement.

Community Intervention. Community intervention into the policymaking and decisionmaking processes of a community or a bureaucratic institution can be both direct and indirect. Intervention may come through formal and informal channels and involvement and through joint conferences, training sessions, and collective efforts to bring about identifiable programmatic development, but there will be qualitative differences in outcome, depending on whether the formal or the informal route is used. Agencies and institutions that are accountable to boards of trustees for institutional policy and direction should involve community residents, who are members of the advisory board, as voting members.

This involvement can assure continuity of input for program development that can have an impact on the institution's policies. Also, the community should monitor the ongoing effects of the program so that the program will become more reflective of the community it serves. For a program and its board to deliver effective services and develop responsive policy for the residents, it is essential that the program and policy be designed for and by (to the greatest extent) those persons who are receiving the services. A mechanism for direct input into the effectiveness of the services is, of course, the policymaking board of the institution.

The identification of indigenous leadership for board members with an institution is an important ingredient for the success of that institution's ability to become community relevant. A leader can be a housewife, construction worker, teacher, etc. The persons who become leaders must live in the local area, be respected by their constituency, and command positive response from other individual residents. In addition, a survey of the community services and program resources should be conducted to identify those persons working in the community who could be effective members on an advisory or policymaking board of a local agency. A good mix of community residents and people working in community programs is important, because a reciprocal relation already exists between these two sources via service delivery and service reception. The community residents and the service program resources in that community often have a common history and, to a degree, have some of the same ambitions and desires to enhance the living conditions of the residents of the community. The leadership on these two levels will be, and usually is, in a position of maintaining high visibility, a following, influence on other resources within and outside the community, and some political clout with the local politicians and bureaucratic agencies and institutions.

It is recognized that skills necessary for organizing the community are essential for creating an effective mechanism for program and policy input into people-oriented institutions. The ability to interact positively on a personal basis with other members is essential to a community board as is having people who are politically astute and who have managerial, financial, and legal skills.

Persons involved with this kind of body should have the ability and willingness to learn, retain, and be effective in returning new knowledge and information to their constituencies for action or informational purposes. Without question, the art of conducting lobbying action with local politicians is essential for a program to receive recognition as an effective service to the community.

Board-member training should be task oriented with a focus on the function of the board, individual followership and leadership, policy development and implementation, budget and organizational development, because new board members are usually unclear about the institution's or program's goals, functions, objectives, budget, organizational schema, and their relation to the delivery of specific services to an identifiable population. Training should be sought from other agency boards who have similar interests, or it could be conducted collaboratively with other boards so that more than one board could be trained in generic areas for skill development. Reciprocal training can be designed whereby trainees from a given program can in fact receive training from another program that delivers a similar service to the consumer, e.g., a neighborhood health center. This process is reciprocal, and agencies can learn and develop from the knowledge of already operating programs which can conduct specific training for their board members.

Linkages with other community-oriented boards should be developed for the purpose of mutual support and to serve as a vehicle for enabling board members to learn from other boards' experiences. Board members should attend conferences that will enhance their confidence, competence, and knowledge about the area of service their institution is involved with, so that the goals and objectives of the program or service can relate more specifically to the consumers' needs. The board should develop, with assistance from the institution or agency, the ability to negotiate with funding agencies and government officials for needed programs. They should avoid, if possible, nonnegotiable demands, and work out their own alternatives to the problems they identify and to the issues they find blocking the way to development of positive service programs for their constituency.

Critical blockages in the use of community boards render community participation meaningless in service planning and implementation. Once the sources of the problem are identified there are two opportunities: the opportunity to understand that current negative assessments of

community participation are the result of an interaction of factors on both sides of the agency-community alliance, not simply the result of an inherent inability of community folks to be effective; and the opportunity to plan and take specific steps to isolate the problems and to enhance the effectiveness of board members. Seizing both opportunities ought to result in increased community participation in the human services through an increase in the quality of the agency-community working relationship. Both groups would prosper.

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Chapter 20
Enhancing Community Board Effectiveness

Daniel J. Hurley and Alan Santos

ABSTRACT

Hall, Thomas and Hurley discuss the blockages to effective community control of human services and offer general suggestions to improve community participation. In this chapter, the authors build on this discussion by suggesting concrete steps that mental health boards might take to make themselves viable advocates against institutionally racist policies and practices. Suggestions deal with the role and scope of the board; structure of the board; and selection, recruitment and training of members. The authors present their analysis of future prospects for true community participation in mental health services delivery.

Introduction

Hall, Thomas, and Hurley (chapter 19, this section) provide an analysis of the factors that hinder meaningful participation by community residents for the planning and implementation of human services. In that discussion, the authors point to problems inherent in the human service institutions, the communities served, and the community boards themselves that interact to minimize effective citizen input. A special emphasis was put on the process of institutional racism and its central role in the continued hindrance of meaningful community participation. This chapter offers concrete proposals for enhancing the effectiveness of community boards in the mental health system specifically and human service systems generally, with proposals which relate to the role and scope of the board; the organizational structure of the board; the recruitment, selection, training, and maintenance of board members; and the future role of community boards. These proposals are based not only on a review of relevant literature but also on the authors' experience as staff members working with community boards and as board members themselves in mental health and community action programs. The proposals may serve as a "do-it-yourself" guide for board members and mental health professionals in enhancing the quality of community participation in service planning and delivery. Given the previous assessment of problems by Hall et al., it seems clear that a constant search for new strategies and a re-commitment to older, tested strategies are demanded. Specific operational plans are needed to offset the ill-boding reviews, the myriad typologies, the abundance of "who's-to-blame" statements, the lack of sufficient empirical evidence, and the conflicting and/or vague program mandates and goal statements. It is hoped that these plans will not only enhance community participation but also establish the board as a viable adversary of institutional racism in the mental health service system.

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Basic Premises

Before presenting proposals, the authors make explicit two assumptions that provide a meaningful context for this discussion. The first assumption is fairly explicit: *Human services, including mental health services, are responsible to the communities being served.* This conception is not new; in fact, in its earliest position paper on community mental health, the American Psychological Association declared:

> Throughout, the comprehensive community mental health center is considered from the point of view of members of a community who are seeking good programs and are ultimately responsible for the kinds of programs they get. The mental health professions are not to be regarded as guardians of mental health, but as agents of the community—among others—in developing and conserving its human resources . . . . For the comprehensive community mental health center to become an effective agency of the community, community control of center policy is essential (Smith and Hobbs 1966, p. 500).

However, a commitment to the assumption of community responsibility gives a new focus to the role of

community participation. Debates over "policy vs. advisory" functions or participation "of, by, for" the community (Nassi 1978), or questions of levels and goals of participation (Kane 1975; Mogoluf 1974) become spurious and academic. Any community mental health program will be effective and relevant only when the community residents (taxpayers/ultimate funders) and the mental health professionals are committed to this principle and make it the first point of discussion.

The second premise is focused more specifically on the issue of institutional racism in human services: *Community boards must represent fairly the diverse interests of the heterogeneous groups in the community.* As representatives who hold ultimate responsibility for mental health service effectiveness (Premise 1), the board members have the tasks of (1) identifying the scope, intensity, and diversity of the needs of different groups in the community; and (2) insuring that the community's mental health resources are distributed equitably and competently *and* used according to need. Hurley, Barbarin, and Mitchell in this volume (chapter 14) define institutional racism as the maintenance of practices and policies in a system that allow the differential distribution of resources to the detriment of one group on the basis of that group's race. It is our contention that the community board ought to be seen as the community's primary agent in negating any such policies or practices. An effective board will insure against the distribution of agency resources on the basis of any "isms" other than identified need, and commitment to this second premise will be the foundation for this insurance. Failure of staff and board members to commit themselves to these two premises contaminates all future debate about role, structure, membership, etc.

Role and Scope of Activity

With the major premises thus stated as nonnegotiable, let us turn to a discussion of the role and scope of activity for a community mental health board. Based on the above premises, the following role definitions are proposed:

(1) to be responsible for seeing that the various needs of community residents related to mental health and other services are systematically identified

(2) to be responsible for establishing goals and assigning priorities for resource distribution to meet these needs

(3) to be responsible for defining, with staff, relevant criteria for program effectiveness, assessing the impact of specific programs, and holding staff accountable for satisfying such criteria

Hence, the primary focus of the board should be on the quality of the relationship between the mental health center and the community. The focus should not drift into the internal day-to-day workings and personalities of the staff, matters which are the responsibility of the center's director. The board will hold the director accountable for meeting established goals, and the director, in turn, should hold the staff accountable for taking the programmatic steps to reach the goals. Generally speaking, the role of the board is similar to that of a policy board and a quality-control or regulatory commission.

The scope of activities inherent in this defined role can be broken down:

(1) obtaining and incorporating *information* related to the *needs* of the different groups, the *history* of past and present problem-solving efforts directed at these needs, *current attitudes, rumors, perceptions, and events* in the community relevant to needs or possible solutions, and current *community statements* regarding planning, goals, future directions of groups and/or institutions

To gain this information, board members must develop and/or maintain working channels that are both formal and informal. The formal channels are well documented in the needs assessment literature (Hargreaves et al., 1974). The tasks include ongoing data collection, through community survey, that could be accumulated annually; meetings (at least quarterly) with an identified core of key informants (e.g., other service providers, clergy, politicians, neighborhood leaders, business representatives, social club leaders, etc.); and access to meaningful and understandable demographic and epidemiological data. In addition, community board members have the responsibility to maintain their informal contacts with community residents in order to have access to the most current neighborhood information. Incorporating multiple data sources into the board discussions greatly increases the effectiveness of their planning.

(2) incorporating available information into a statement of *priorities* or goals that classifies needs in terms of importance and required resources; and *assigning resources* accordingly

Priority setting ought to occur at an open annual meeting, only after relevant information has been made available to board members through reports and discussions. This meeting should focus on generating a specific list of priorities that are understandable, operational, and capable of dissemination to all relevant parties. In addition, board members should translate their priorities into a relative weighting or distribution of agency resources (e.g., percentage of staff, monies, etc.), thereby ensuring that the board carries out its responsibility of distributing service resources on the basis of identifiable need.

(3) negotiating with staff to *define program effectiveness criteria* that can be made operational and remain reasonable indicators of program impact on consumers and the community

The authors call for a negotiating process between the board and staff over specific performance criteria that can be accepted and implemented by both groups. Negotiations with staff only are recommended at this point, within the context of the established priorities. Too often, goals and priorities are discussed within the constraints of professional service modalities and/or regulations. The expertise of mental health professionals ought to be valued and used for defining measurable and valid criteria, devising specific strategies that could be used to meet defined priorities and still satisfy professional and government regulations, and devising the measurement systems for collecting the relevant data. It is the board's responsibility to see that meaningful criteria are defined and measured.

(4) *holding staff accountable* to program goals through regular program review

Whether it be through meetings and/or reports, the board must keep itself informed of the status of the services offered. One process is through regular meetings with the center director *and* the staff. Over time, the board ought to come to know and hear from all of the staff involved in serving the community. The purpose of these meetings would be both informational and evaluative in terms of program accomplishment. (It is the responsibility of the director to evaluate individual staff accomplishment.) Such meetings should occur at least with all executive committee members present and at best with the entire board present. It is important that these meetings provide a regular, open, and meaningful opportunity for the director and staff to talk about programs. Such meetings serve to minimize the formation of destructive board-staff subgroup alliances and politically instigated "leaking" of program- and staff-related information.

(5) developing the necessary *legal and/or political alliances* to make meaningful the board's ability to hold the service institution accountable to agreed-upon goals

Perhaps most critical is this final activity of establishing a power base from which to exercise community responsibility. Ideally, the community board holds direct financial accountability in terms of official receiver of monies and in terms of the hiring/firing of the executive director. Whether this legal and financial responsibility is present or not, board members must develop working (i.e., influential) relationships with State and regional mental health officers and with local, State, and Federal elected officials. These relationships could be direct, that is, not simply existing through the center's director. In this way community board members will be really capable of effectively holding staff accountable and of delivering effective and relevant mental health services to the community.

Organizational Structure

Any group faces the task of developing a structure or framework within which it can work toward its goals. Kupst et al. (1975) noted the impact of board structure on the quality of the board's interaction with program directors and staff. Too often boards assume bureaucratic structures that make the members organizationally and psychologically more like the service institution than a group of neighbors. Once a formal bureaucratic structure is evolved (e.g., officers, seating arrangements, rules of order, etc.), the board is often impeded, distracted, intimidated, or manipulated away from the activities outlined above. We suggest a structure that is informal and task-focused. Meetings should occur in settings identified with the com-

munity (e.g., church, neighborhood club, library, townhall, etc.), not in the service center. This arrangement should maximize identification with the community and put the board members on their own turf. Meetings ought to be well organized and efficient. Wasting time or distracting board members destroys involvement and attendance. An elected chair (or rotating core group) ought to keep discussion task oriented without resorting to artificial means, such as rules of order. Meetings of the entire board should be mainly informational—providing to and gathering from the members—and held every 2 months. The meetings should provide, in addition to task performance, an informal social activity for neighbors. Such socioemotional rewards will not only help attendance but contribute to the cohesiveness and self-sustenance of board members.

Actual task performance by the board should take place within small groups structured into an executive committee and specific task groups. The size of the board (when structured this way) can be open-ended, with a defined executive group (four to six members) responsible for organization. This executive committee would have a staff member (perhaps the assistant director) as both liaison and resource person. Members of this committee would be elected by the board to serve for 1 year (and be ineligible for 1 year) and be reimbursed by the agency's consultant funds on a per diem basis. These board members would meet monthly, chair the major subcommittees, and do the necessary homework to keep themselves and the other board members informed. This structure of reimbursed involvement of the core group for a defined period on a rotating basis can serve as one mechanism to reward participation, to elevate its significance in the agency, and to enhance involvement of new and ongoing members. Specific tasks (e.g., relations with leaders, information gathering, etc.) would be done in small groups, staffed by self-appointed board members. Each subgroup would be assigned a staff person with limited "release time" to act as liaison and resource person. Involving the members in task-specific small groups of their choosing that report out to the larger board may help to maximize the limited time and energy available to residents and provide specific accomplishments to sustain activity over time. Cohen (1976) noted that involving board members in small projects in informal settings leads to greater familiarity of the group with problems, more group decisionmaking, and a sense of ownership of the decisionmaking process.

Selection, Recruitment, Training

Recruitment of board members ought to be aimed at community residents who are capable of fairly and effectively representing the diverse interest groups in the community. There is a distinction between "representing" and "being representative of" community groups. Too often, mental health boards, agencies, and regional offices become more concerned with having a member of a political subgroup (e.g., race, income, etc.) sit on the board than with ensuring that the board identifies the needs of those subgroups and delivers resources appropriate to meet those needs. Selection ought to be based on the person's interest and ability to develop and maintain lines of communication with the different groups in the community. In any community, discussions with political leaders, clergy, service providers, long-term residents, and businessmen will identify a core of people with an historical, documented involvement with mental health. These are the people who should be recruited for board membership. The structure just defined can be used in recruiting to ensure residents that their commitment will be task oriented and specific to areas designated as relevant; that major involvement (e.g., executive) will be reimbursed on a per diem basis; that a viable social support system is available through board involvement; and that their participation on the board will influence institution policies and programs. We suggest that all such identified and self-nominated residents should participate on the board and that mental health and other professional service providers should not serve on the board. Too often, service providers sitting on mental health boards lead the discussion to service-program needs and not to community needs. Often membership on another agency's board can be an actual conflict-of-interest or be motivated by the political self-interest of protecting and enlarging one's own domain. Where appropriate, necessary experts (e.g., service, legal, political, etc.) can be brought in for specific purposes on a voluntary or reimbursed consulting basis.

Once selection and recruitment take place, it is important that all steps be taken to ensure that

members feel confident and competent to carry out their responsibilities. Hall et al. (this volume, chapter 19) emphasize the development of training experiences for board members. Such experiences ought to carry the quality of an orientation to the task rather than of an inability to do the task. Experiences ought to be structured to familiarize board members with parts of the service institution with which they are unfamiliar. Spending time with staff in particular programs, meeting regional officers, having a budgetary or grant process explained, and making available copies of all relevant information in "readable" form are profitable components of this orientation. More structured training ought to be provided for the board's executive committee, with leadership workshops and relevant conferences reimbursed by the agency. A further suggestion is for the board to negotiate with local educational institutions for reduced tuition or scholarship arrangements for members to earn credits in relevant courses. Such an arrangement allows for board benefit, in terms of informed members, and personal benefit, in terms of educational credits for individuals. Whatever the arrangements, the purpose of the training should be kept clear. The expertise of board members already exists in their knowledge of their community, its moves, its people, their needs, their problem-solving strategies, etc. This expertise needs to be valued and maximized. Training or orientation should be designed to acquaint board members with the constraints, structurally and programmatically, within which their planning for community needs should take place.

Future of Community Boards

Community mental health boards that establish themselves along the lines suggested here can have a meaningful impact not only on specific programs but also on the quality of life of the community. Working according to these principles, the community board can ensure that programs deliver resources on the basis of need. If so, processes and policies that perpetuate institutional racism will not be able to survive. Such boards will move beyond vague mandates and proactively establish themselves as the psychological, social, and political force in the community responsible for the development of relevant mental health programs. Boards that fail to use the suggestions here to develop a position of influence will continue to be advisory, exercising little influence on programs planned and implemented by the professional staff. Such programs will continue to be concerned mainly with organizational and professional survival and with maintaining their own sphere of influence.

Trends in the human service domain, however, seem to offer hope of more opportunities for community boards. One trend is the emphasis on accountability and evaluation. While there is no telling how long this emphasis will last, there are currently funding and policies that call for public disclosure of program processes and impact. The availability of such information provides the opportunity for interested citizens to make a detailed public case of evidence for or against an agency's effectiveness. A second trend is the current demand of taxpayers to reduce the costs of human service spending. This demand could lead to the reduction of services across the board. On the other hand, taxpayers could discriminate in their support for community-relevant services.

The community board becomes important in this context on several counts. First, the board offers an ongoing, more sensitive channel for controlling the budgets of human services than the all-or-nothing, annual electoral process. Also, community boards are important channels for reaching the taxpayer to educate and mobilize support regarding effective services. Finally, the service professionals who are willing to work with boards along the lines defined here may come to realize that, in the current economic state, a community board that helps to sharpen priorities and budgeting and still works flexibly and sensitively in line with the needs of community residents may be the most viable source of their own self-maintenance. Whatever the opportunities, it is clear that the community boards need to develop the abilities to seize and maximize these opportunities.

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Chapter 21
Eliminating Racism in Educational Settings

William E. Sedlacek and Glenwood C. Brooks, Jr.

ABSTRACT

A model which attempts to eliminate racism in educational settings is presented. Its goal is to reduce personal and institutional racism by changing the attitudes and behaviors of those who control the educational system. Two conferences attended by school-system personnel illustrate the dynamics of the model. Participants explore the nature of racism and strategies for its elimination by working through a series of stages, each with its own particular issues, in developmental sequence. These include exploring cultural and racial differences, understanding the way in which racism operates, examining types of racial attitudes and their sources, and, finally, changing attitudes and behavior. An evaluation of the conferences is presented, and a more general format for assessing the efficacy of the model is described.

Many problems with the educational system in this country, directly related to racial or cultural issues, range from self-fulfilling prophecies, based on expectations of poor performance by teachers in elementary and secondary schools (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968; Rubovitz and Maehr 1973), to discriminatory admissions policies in higher education (Sedlacek 1974; Sedlacek and Webster, in press) and to racism encountered by minorities in graduate and professional schools (Carrington and Sedlacek 1977; D'Costa et al. 1974). As these problems become focused in society and in the educational system, increasing numbers of counselors, educators, personnel workers, and other helping professionals are being called upon to provide assistance. The problems are often hard to pinpoint, difficult to work with, and highly emotional.

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The Cultural Study Center at the University of Maryland in College Park has developed an approach to working with racism which may prove useful to others attempting change in this area (Sedlacek 1974; Sedlacek and Brooks 1976). The approach, developed over several years, is based on research and direct experience in a number of types and levels of educational settings, including elementary, secondary, college, university, and professional schools. The model has also been used in noneducational settings such as hospitals, community agencies, governmental and business organizations. It is primarily aimed at eliminating racism in white-oriented educational institutions by changing the individuals who control the system. The model consists of discrete but interrelated stages which must be worked through in developmental sequence, regardless of the amount of time involved.

Our purpose here is to describe the model by demonstrating how it has been employed in conferences attended by members of two different school systems. One program was conducted for a large suburban system with more than 160,000 students enrolled. The system had been troubled by many racial incidents and problems over the years and was expecting a court-ordered school desegregation plan to go into effect shortly after the conference was held. A 2-day conference for 91 key central office staff and supervisors was held.

The second conference, lasting 2½ days, was held for 36 principals, vice-principals and some central office staff of a small, primarily rural system with 17,000 students. The system was just beginning to have increasing numbers of blacks enrolled in the schools as the city's suburbs pushed outward. Relatively mild confrontations between blacks and whites had occurred.

Each conference was organized around the six stages of the model. The general results and conclusions at each of the stages are discussed, as well as differences between the conferences. The points described in each stage were often brought out by consultants amid heated discussion and controversy. The format of the conferences consisted of small working groups of 10-15 individuals. General

sessions were held periodically. Participants remained in their respective small groups, as consultants rotated each half day or whole day. The purpose of this tactic was to maintain a sense of group identity and give participants exposure to a variety of consultants. Consultants were diversified with respect to race, sex, and interpersonal style. The model was discussed with a planning group from each school system prior to the conference. Participants at both conferences were overwhelmingly white: Of the 127 participants attending the two conferences, only six were black.

Stage I — Cultural and Racial Differences

Points Made by Consultants and Participants. (1) Cultural and racial differences exist and should be openly discussed and understood by all. (2) Differences can and should be approached positively, in and out of the classroom. (3) Black expressions of racial and cultural identity are necessary and healthy for blacks and for the rest of society. (4) Standard English is a white, middle-class concept, and teachers and pupils should be allowed cultural expression through language in the classroom. (5) Many blacks have questionable environmental support for education and are not likely to be motivated by traditional methods. (6) Most white teachers are not prepared by background or training to work with most of the black students they encounter. (7) Blacks may act differently and, in general, more negatively to authority in a society which has oppressed them. (8) Traditional threats from authority figures or informing parents may do more harm than good. (9) Understanding cultural and racial differences and designing educational experiences which are both sensitive and reinforcing of these differences are crucial to any education.

Evaluation and Discussion. Many participants had difficulty accepting differences as positive concepts. The epithet, "I treat everyone exactly alike," was heard often. Criticism from participants included the lack of specific content and the style of some of the consultants. Sessions varied in content covered, and participant reactions ranged from feeling that relevant content was covered to feeling that the session was a waste of time. Upon later reflection, the consultants felt this was as far as some participants were willing to go: That is, feeling that if they had gotten a few tips on how to deal with blacks, they could solve their problems.

Some participants had knowledge of racial issues, and others had never before dealt with the topic, particularly in the smaller conference where participants from schools with no black students viewed the session much like a class in medieval history. That is, it was of academic interest, but they felt it had no practical use.

The written material given to participants was usually not read, thereby pointing up a problem often noted by librarians and black curriculum specialists: The material is available but often unused. Without training, most teachers are likely to feel uncomfortable experimenting with new materials or curricula. The most useful pamphlet we have found in initially raising the issue of cultural and racial differences is by Noar (1972).

Stage II — How Racism Operates

Points Made by Consultants and Participants. (1) *Individual racism* is action taken by one individual toward another which *results in negative outcomes* because the other person is identified with a certain group. The group may be racial, cultural, sexual, ideological, etc. (2) *Institutional racism* is action taken by a social system or institution which *results in negative outcomes* for members of a certain group or groups. (3) The definitions of racism are behavioral in that *results, not intentions, are important.* Most racism is unknowing or unintentional. (4) Some examples of institutional racism were noted in county schools:

- The system is clearly segregated, resulting in fewer facilities, fewer teachers, and less money spent per pupil on black students.
- Because supervisors are less prepared and perhaps less comfortable in dealing with teachers and problems in primarily black schools, they may make fewer visits to these schools.
- There are few blacks in supervisory or central staff positions in county schools.
- Most components of county school curricula are oriented toward white, middle-class children.
- Curriculum materials more relevant to blacks and other minorities are available but are used relatively little by teachers.

- Most county teachers have little or no preparation for teaching black students or for presenting material more relevant to them.
- There is a lack of funds and manpower committed by county schools to work on race relations.

(5) Since most of society is run by and for whites, racism is primarily a white problem. Unless whites are able to change individually, and collectively through institutions, white racism is likely to remain. (6) Racism is analogous to alcoholism: If we say, "Well, maybe I drink a little too much occasionally," then we are not likely to begin to deal with our problem. However, if we understand and admit our alcoholism, we can begin to work on it. We are all racists and should begin to work on our problem.

Evaluation and Discussion. The groups were heterogeneous in many respects, and participants were still not very involved in the discussion. Irrelevancy, negativism, and preaching were criticisms voiced by participants.

While the concept of institutional racism was difficult for many participants to understand, the consultants generally reported some progress in participants' understanding of how county policy and the everyday practices of teachers, administrators, and policymakers could be detrimental to blacks, regardless of intentions.

During this stage, it is important for participants to realize that, although differences in culture and perspective are sometimes threatening, they can also have a positive and enhancing effect. An awareness of this could radically change orientation in the direction of greater acceptance and appreciation of diversity.

It is also crucial that participants assume responsibility for the change process. To do this, consultants should initially ignore requests by white participants for a black consultant to give them detailed prescriptions about what they should change. White consultants may be more valuable at this stage. Too often white participants compete for the favor of black consultants rather than wrestle with problems and come to terms with the issue independently. The black consultant can play an effective helping role by maintaining a low profile at this time.

Stage III — Examining Racial Attitudes

Procedures and Results. Participants completed the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) anonymously. The SAS was designed to measure white attitudes toward blacks in 10 personal or social situations. Two forms of the SAS were created: Form A makes no mention of race; form B is identical to form A, except that the word "black" was inserted into each situation. Half the participants completed form A and the other half form B. Forms were distributed randomly so that mean differences could be attributed to the word "black." Table 1 shows SAS instructions and situations. Responses of black participants (N = 6) were not analyzed. Responses of white participants (N = 127) indicated generally negative attitudes toward blacks. A strong negative reaction to situation V ("Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person") was noted. Respondents tended to feel sad, intolerant, insulted, angered, fearful, hopeless, unexcited, wrong, and disgusted in their reactions to the situation. They tended to feel positive toward blacks in situations III ("It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines") and VI ("You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman"). Respondents tended to feel receptive, excited, glad, and pleased toward the magazine salesman, and calm, friendly, cooperative, pleasant, and accepting toward the policeman. These positive attitudes and feelings have been interpreted in other studies (Sedlacek and Brooks 1970; 1972) as indicating that whites are more comfortable with blacks in "service roles." To sum up the feelings of a typical respondent: "It's OK for blacks to sell me magazines or be policemen, but they had better not come much closer, or, in particular, get engaged to any of my friends."

Evaluation and Discussion. Questionnaires were scored overnight, and a summary of results was presented to each participant and discussed. While some participants discussed and analyzed the results with interest, many steadfastly refused to consider them or their implications. This session was probably the most emotional of the conference, with participants becoming defensive and attacking the SAS and the conference. These reactions were generally expected by the consultants, who tried to make the point that whites may hold more negative attitudes toward blacks than they

Table 1. Instructions and situations from the Situational Attitude Scale*

Instructions

This questionnaire measures how people think and feel about a number of social and personal incidents and situations. It is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is anonymous so please DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

Each item or situation is followed by 10 descriptive word scales. Your task is to select, for each descriptive scale, the rating which best describes YOUR feelings toward the item.

Sample item: Going out on a date

happy ' A ' B ' C ' D ' E ' sad

You would indicate the direction and extent of your feelings (e.g., you might select B) by indicating your choice (B) on your response sheet by blackening in the appropriate space for that word scale. DO NOT MARK ON THE BOOKLET. PLEASE RESPOND TO ALL WORD SCALES.

Sometimes you may feel as though you had the same item before on the questionnaire. This will not be the case, so DO NOT LOOK BACK AND FORTH through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the questionnaire. MAKE EACH ITEM A SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT. Respond as honestly as possible without puzzling over individual items. Respond with your first impressions whenever possible.

Situations

FORM A	FORM B
I. A new family moves in next door to you.	A new black family moves in next door to you.
II. You read in the paper that a man has raped a woman.	You read in the paper that a black man has raped a white woman.
III. It is evening and a man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.	It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.
IV. You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five young men are loitering.	You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five young black men are loitering.
V. Your best friend has just become engaged.	Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person.
VI. You are stopped for speeding by a policeman.	You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman.
VII. A new person joins your social group.	A new black person joins your social group.
VIII. You see a youngster steal something in a dimestore.	You see a black youngster steal something in a dimestore.
IX. Some students on campus stage a demonstration.	Some black students on campus stage a demonstration.
X. You get on a bus and you are the only person who has to stand.	You get on a bus that has all black people aboard and you are the only person who has to stand.

thought. The biggest danger with the session was opening an emotionally difficult area and being unable to handle adequately the feelings generated.

Stage IV — Sources of Racial Attitudes

Points Made by Consultants and Participants. (1) We all have racial stereotypes that determine how we feel and act toward other races. The SAS documented this. (2) Textbooks help perpetuate racial stereotypes. (3) The nature of prejudice and racism should be taught at all educational levels. This is particularly crucial for white youth, who need information in order to avoid becoming racist. (4) Prejudice and racism, as well as black culturally relevant content, should be an integral part of the regular curriculum and not isolated as "black history week," etc. (5) One vehicle through which racial stereotypes are created and then institutionalized is the self-fulfilling prophecy. Teachers, both black and white, who have low expectations for black students may significantly affect their performance.

Evaluation and Discussion. Sessions III and IV ran together, and many participants were still dealing with feelings developed from the SAS. Some participants were ready to move on; others were not.

Once again, this was another instance when the presence of black and white consultants proved valuable. A white consultant initially presented the SAS results and received a great deal of hostility and anger. A black consultant then wrapped up the attitude session and left participants with some final thoughts. The technique served several useful purposes. First, allowing participants to openly vent, rather than internalize, their feelings made them more ready to listen to the black consultant, who followed up with important points. If the black consultant had presented first, or had covered the entire session, white participants may have been unable to experience their racist attitudes and feel-

ings. Additionally, it is difficult and often unpleasant for black consultants to deal with highly emotional racist attitudes in a group of whites.

The technique of role playing specific educational situations involving blacks and whites was used in the smaller conference with much success. This group was more able to discuss their racial attitudes after role playing.

Stage V — Behavior: What Can Be Done?

Goals Stated by Participants. Many goals were stated in both conferences, but only the more salient and generalizable are noted here. It was deemed important to: (1) investigate the concept of teacher quotas, positive and negative effects, and develop a fair policy; (2) initiate changes in curricula from Kindergarten through 12th grade, including special emphases on language, integrated social studies vs. black studies, instructional materials, and massive inservice training of teachers working with curriculum and instructional materials; (3) develop effective communication techniques for schools which are newly integrated; (4) collect data on the number of discipline cases for blacks and whites; (5) review the use of test scores; (6) review classifications of central staff personnel and analyze salary structure; (7) find ways of involving the community in eliminating racism in the schools; (8) ensure that recommendations from the conference be followed up; (9) develop innovative and proper techniques for teaching English to black youngsters; (10) disseminate more information on racism; (11) guarantee central administration support for positions taken to reduce or eliminate racism; (12) recruit more effectively black administrators and teachers; (13) find appropriate standards to judge and develop programs for blacks; (14) require race-relations experience for hiring and promotion; and (15) include black artists and scholars in the curricula.

Evaluation and Discussion. Participants varied considerably in their willingness to state goals. Some refused to recognize that racism exists in the school system, and some would not state their goals.

At this time in the conferences, most of the ideas and recommendations should be coming from participants rather than from consultants. This shift is often used as an intermediate criterion of the success of the conference.

Stage VI — Behavior: How Can It Be Done?

Points Made by Participants. (1) Set goals — long- and short-term. (2) Emphasize results, not intentions. (3) Learn what reinforcements will work in the system; read *Rules for Radicals* (Alinsky 1971) and *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (Skinner 1971). (4) Facilitate communication through separate monthly newsletters for elementary and secondary students and for staff and teachers, reporting human relations news, achievements, events, etc. (5) Establish a coordinating board of student representatives with all minorities represented and with some responsibility for policymaking. (6) Encourage students to express their cultural and racial identities through clubs and groups (e.g., black student union). (7) Schools should provide regular and periodic extracurricular activities of special interest to blacks. (8) The professional educators in county schools should take stands on race-related issues and work actively for change. (9) Whites must initiate and carry the ball in working on their own racism. Waiting for blacks to tell whites what to do is shirking responsibility. (10) Busing is a "red herring cop out." If the system is committed to ending racial injustice in the schools, it either finds a better way (which it has not done) or it buses. (11) *Actively* recruit blacks at all levels; the institutionalized practices which keep blacks from applying must be overcome. (12) Hire only blacks or other minorities for all positions until the imbalance is corrected. (13) Set up team-teaching situations to aid white teachers in black schools. (14) Have regular staff-development training in race relations over a long and sustained period. (15) Provide race relations training for students at all levels of the educational system. (16) Require the school system budget to list how much money is being spent on eliminating racism and the percentage increase from the previous year. More money must be committed if any change is to take place.

Evaluation and Discussion. At this point, most participants were able to contribute strategies to the session. Stages V and VI tended to blend together, but their independence is less important than ending the conference on an action-oriented, "here's what to do" note. Ideally, stage V results in the stating of goals, and stage VI results in a listing of strategies to accomplish them. The entire model is geared to maximize these sessions. The philosophy is that the first four stages are needed to educate

and prepare participants for stating accurate and achievable goals and strategies. Most groups or individuals are not ready to discuss strategy without more background on the topic.

Overall Evaluation and Discussion of Conferences

A four-part evaluation scheme is regularly used in evaluating the model: information, attitude change, outcome goals, and additional objective evidence. These fit the development of the model rather directly. In stages I and II, and perhaps IV, information is the principal criterion. Do participants know that cultural and racial differences exist? Do they understand institutional racism? Do they understand the sources of their racial attitudes?

Stage III directly concerns attitude change. The SAS could be used as a before-and-after measure of this stage, but often the point is made with the SAS, and verbal reports of understanding are used for evaluation. Chapman (1974) used responses to questionnaires, assessing the behavioral intentions of college student groups to do work relating to racism, as evidence of the success of stage II (How Racism Operates). He used responses on the SAS to assess readiness to approach stage III (Examining Racial Attitudes).

The third type of evaluation, outcome goals, is the emphasis of the whole model and the specific goal of stages V and VI. If clear goals are stated in stage V, the stage has been successful. And if strategies are developed in stage VI, it, too, has been successful. You must determine whether the goals are accomplished, which can be difficult to assess for several reasons. First, long-term goals take a long time to implement. Second, periodic followups, which should be made on specific goals and strategies, are involved and time-consuming processes. A third difficulty is identifying the spin-off effects of a given strategy. For instance, after we accomplished our goal of developing a black parent advisory group in a secondary school, this group became a catalyst for the accomplishment of many other goals relating to racism. Thus, although we accomplished only one goal, its effects were far reaching. Quality, then, can be more critical than quantity. The accomplishment of only one critical goal can turn a school around; and, again, it is the accomplishment of the goal that is important, not who gets credit for it.

As of this writing, approximately 60 percent of the goals stated have been accomplished, at least in part. There is a study currently under way to determine this figure more exactly and to identify the reasons for lack of complete accomplishment.

The fourth type of evaluation — additional objective evidence — is almost a strategy for evaluating others. For instance, in evaluating a program that is run by someone else, it is feasible to allow the presentation of objective evidence that was not included in the other types of evaluation. This might reduce the complaint that evaluation procedures exclude pertinent evidence. Hedman and Magoon (1977), who experimentally evaluated the model, compared two versions of the model (using student teachers at the university level) with a control group. One version employed the technique of discussion and interactions as described in this article, and the other involved the viewing of an edited version of an audiotape (Sedlacek 1974) with limited discussion. They found no differences between either version of the model and the control group: Each group interacted negatively with black students.

Sedlacek, Troy, and Chapman (1976) demonstrated the efficacy of the model with university freshmen in orientation programs, finding that students were able to work through the model and devise goals and strategies which they could use as students on campus.

Conference Evaluation

Participants completed an evaluation of the conferences. The first question, "What was the *best* thing about the conference?" brought such responses as getting to know others in the system, talking about real or "gut" issues and getting things out in the open, learning about racism and black perspectives, and the educational value of consultants. A variety of items were mentioned less often, including the format of the conference and the openness of participants.

Responses to the question "What was the *worst* thing about the conference?" were more scattered. Mentioned most often were a lack of specific and practical issues, disappointment in the closed-mindedness of fellow workers, "preaching" by consultants, negativism among participants, and the SAS.

To the question "What do you *feel* differently about after the conference?" responses included a

better understanding of racism and black people, feelings of frustration and incompetence, but also a feeling of being better able to work together and an awareness of the extent of racism in the system.

In response to the question "What will you *do* differently after the conference?" participants stated they would generally increase their efforts to understand and identify racism by working with teachers, meeting with colleagues, and influencing decisionmakers.

In conclusion, the outcome of the conferences was mixed. There was great heterogeneity among the participants; some were eager to learn and change, while others were uninterested, uninvolved, and unwilling. Clearly, many participants were frustrated, unsure of themselves, and bothered by the content. In a way, this was to be expected. In some sense, it is a prerequisite to change. It is inconceivable that individuals or a school system can change their racist beliefs and practices comfortably. The roots of racism run deep. If people are pleased and feel good after a conference on race relations, it means one of two things: Either the issues were avoided completely, or the participants did not need the training. Change always involves some risk and discomfort. Consultants attempted to confront participants with the issues in a manner that minimized anxiety.

For a 2-day intervention to have any realistic effect, the participants *and* the school system itself must continue what has been started at the conference. Without a strong commitment to a long-range program, it is highly unlikely that any significant changes will come about from such conferences. Ultimately, a conference must be judged by its long-range effects. Although the large school system is in the midst of initiating a massive race relations training program (including activities and projects for teachers, students, bus drivers, cafeteria workers, parents, and community residents), and the smaller system has established a black, student-parent advisory group and begun more intensive race relations training for teachers in several schools, this is just the beginning.

The model is dynamic and changing, and many potential strategies and variations are possible. Each time the model is used, it is modified. At the present time, the basic approach seems to work in a variety of settings and under various conditions. The writers invite comments and criticism and are particularly interested in learning of the experiences of others with this and other models.

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Chapter 22

Federal Interventions to Eliminate Racism Through Legislation and Administrative Procedures

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ABSTRACT

Federal attempts to eliminate racism have included interventions by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches through policies designed to guarantee civil rights, increase minority opportunity and participation (affirmative action), and reduce class inequality. Coordination of effort among the three branches has resulted in effective antidiscrimination action, but such cooperation has occurred infrequently. Overall, Federal interventions have met with some success in striking down discrimination, but a less than total commitment to enforcement of laws and to affirmative action programs has delayed the achievement of full social equality. This is illustrated in the area of employment, where executive orders, legislation, and judicial decisions have affirmed fair employment practices, yet unemployment rates still remain disproportionately higher for minorities than for nonminorities, and minorities continue to hold lower status jobs disproportionate to their numbers. An assessment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission provides a case example of how program evaluation and social indicators can be used for evaluating Federal efforts to eliminate racism. Criteria for successful interventions are then discussed.

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It is only within the past two decades that social inequality has been widely recognized as more than a function of the pervasiveness of bigotry and intentional discrimination. A reduction of prejudice has only partially eradicated racism. Increasingly, social inequality has come to be understood as a phenomenon extending beyond individuals and embracing "forces which coordinate and direct individual attitudes and behaviors," i.e., organizational processes or institutional arrangements (Friedman 1975). Defined in this way, the problem of racism in American life requires solutions equally broad in magnitude. The Federal Government, which is responsible for the welfare of the Nation and has the power and influence to begin the necessary process of rearranging society, can be an important vehicle for eliminating racism.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the levels and types of interventions which the Federal Government has used in its efforts to combat racism, to explore the effectiveness of Federal interventions in the area of employment, and to then discuss some important criteria for evaluating these and other interventions.

Levels of Federal Interventions To Eliminate Racism

The Federal Government consists of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, each of which is accorded specific roles and responsibilities by the constitution. Designed as a system of opposing and complementary powers, the three branches operate as a check on each other, ensuring stability and uniformity in national development. By definition of function, the three systems of government exert different influences on the course of social affairs.

The executive branch, most notably the President, has enormous leadership potential. The President can be a voice for the expression of the Nation's dreams and his energy and enthusiasm can be a spark for the struggle to achieve them. In setting the Nation's priorities, the President has budgetary, legislative, and administrative powers at his disposal. Both foreign and domestic policies are shaped by Presidents through their authority to propose and initiate policy and legislation, by obtaining their enactment, and by appealing directly to the people. Among the powers of the executive branch are litigation, negotiation, moral persuasion, executive orders, and presidential actions and directives. The Constitution places a check on the President by demanding congressional authorization and judicial legitimacy of programs, requiring, therefore, the President's full investment in convincing the Nation of the value of proposed policy. An example of how executive intervention and

leadership were instrumental in combating racism occurred early in 1963, when President Kennedy made civil rights legislation one of the country's most pressing and vital priorities. Hoping to gain key southern congressional leaders for other priorities, Kennedy had only lukewarmly and indirectly embraced emerging civil rights legislation. But following the march on Washington, the assassination of Medgar Evers, and the Birmingham bombing, and despite his political instincts, Kennedy's conscience was stirred to adopt a more passionate and assertive position. He initiated and actively lobbied for congressional approval of civil rights legislation he sent to the 88th Congress (Barker and McCory 1976).

The legislative branch, more than any other, is the people's immediate representative in government. The role of Congress is to articulate the public interest from an aggregation of interests. This comes about through congressional debate, usually occurring in committee, and political wheeling and dealing over legislation initiated by the President or the Congress itself. For most of its history, Congress has followed rather than led. Since congressional approval of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1965, which gave license to the ensuing American involvement in Vietnam by Presidents Johnson and Nixon, Congress has begun to reassert its constitutional authority and leadership role in government. Congressional intervention in the civil rights arena was almost nonexistent until the years between 1957 and 1968, when Congress invoked its full legislative powers under the due process, equal protection, and commerce clauses of the Constitution. Four significant pieces of legislation were passed during these years bearing on voting, school desegregation, fair employment practices, and public accommodations. This legislation was designed to overcome State and local obstruction of antidiscrimination efforts and was in large part a response to the protest of the civil rights movement of the sixties.

The function of the judicial branch is to decide questions of constitutionality and to interpret the intent of Congress with respect to a specific statute. By virtue of its role in interpreting the law, the judiciary possesses enormous power, though this power is of the passive or reactive type because a court must wait for cases to come before it. Although the judiciary does not initiate social programs or policies, its decisions constitute an important component of Federal interventions. Alexander Bickel is said to have argued that the most crucial function of the courts was to legitimate political and social programs. If the courts find a program constitutional, people are more likely to adapt themselves to it and let disagreements fade. Judicial interventions in the area of civil rights have been particularly important because, for many years, discrimination had deprived minorities of influence in local and State government, and because Federal legislative efforts were blocked (especially in the Senate) by southerners. Minorities have often had to look to the courts for an affirmation of their constitutional rights. Examples of important judicial interventions were the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* declaring school desegregation to be unconstitutional, and the Court's 1964 decision in *Heart of Atlanta Motel* v. *United States,* upholding the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Types of Federal Interventions To Eliminate Racism

Among the interventions available to the three branches of Government, Burkey (1971) identified four distinct types of Federal antidiscrimination policy.

The first, *guaranteeing of civil rights,* attempts to eliminate restrictions on minority group freedom by reaffirming the civil liberties granted all Americans by the Constitution. This type of policy presumes that eradicating illegal discrimination will lead to equality. The intervention is essentially one of constitutional clarification. It has been a necessary policy because the Constitution was written to allow for different interpretations, as values changed, and because those who wish to discriminate have distorted its central meaning. This type of policy is exemplified by numerous civil rights acts.

A second type of policy is *affirmative action.* It goes beyond policies which guarantee civil rights by applying pressure to entities that discriminate to take positive action. The demand on targets of discrimination to adopt a proactive stance to redress racism is based on the assumption that eliminating discriminatory barriers alone is insufficient to achieve equality. Minorities that have been discriminated against have been deprived of the opportunity to develop skills and competencies which remain long after formal impediments are

eliminated. Thus, affirmative action, or preferential treatment as some have called it, considers minority status an important criterion upon which to base selection decisions. Quotas are not essential to affirmative action programs; however, the only acceptable criterion for judging the effectiveness of such programs is the actual number of minorities that are afforded new opportunities. Affirmative action is needed, therefore, to bring minorities back into a system they have been excluded from and to achieve the diversity of culture and perspective to which this country has professed its aspirations.

The third type of policy is *reverse discrimination*. Here, the allocation of resources, services, and opportunities is based primarily on minority status, to the exclusion or substitution of technically relevant criteria. To date, policies of reverse discrimination have not been employed and are not likely to be employed in the future.

The fourth policy designed to eliminate racial inequality is more indirect than the others because it does not address minority issues or discrimination but attempts to *reduce class inequality*. Programs of this sort focus on improving the welfare of the lowest socioeconomic class. Because this group is disproportionately represented by minorities, it is assumed that they will benefit most from the policy. Examples include President Johnson's "War on Poverty" and "Great Society" programs. Particular strategies employed by these programs have included public service employment, direct cash assistance to the unemployed, job training, and stimulative fiscal policy to increase demand.

Brief History of Federal Interventions To Eliminate Racism

The different levels and types of Federal interventions have produced different thrusts for American antidiscrimination policy. There have been periods when the three branches of Government have worked in concert or against each other. There have been periods when one branch has predominated in the struggle for equality of opportunity. For the most part, the types of public policy employed have been guaranteeing civil rights and reducing class inequality. Affirmative action policies emerged only within the last two decades.

During the period between the first and second World Wars, minorities in the United States continued to be second-class citizens. Although slavery had been abolished, the era of Jim Crow sustained the inferior status of nonwhites through State law and custom, especially in the South. Economic and political oppression replaced the bondage of slavery. Lynchings in the South and race riots in the North made interracial violence a national problem.

It was at this time that black protest began to emerge. Part of its emergence was brought on by the continuing deprivation of civil rights, the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Protest was also partly a result of the disruption of American life by the first World War and the depression, both of which caused a mass migration of blacks to the cities, making it easier for wider scale movements to develop. The thrust of civil rights efforts during this period was to seek reform through legal and judicial tactics, a strategy that lasted until the emergence of direct nonviolent action in the sixties. Under NAACP leadership, the movement concentrated its efforts on obtaining "equal protection of the laws" for nonwhite defendants, monitoring legislation and educating the public (NAACP 1920). Limited success was achieved through judicial relief when the Supreme Court overturned a number of lower court rulings because black defendants had not received a fair trial. Decisions by the Court in *Moore* v. *Dempsey* (1923) and *Powell* v. *Alabama* (1932) affirmed the right of blacks to have adequate court-appointed counsel and, in *Norris* v. *Alabama* (1935), that exclusion of blacks from jury service denied the defendants a "jury of their peers."

During this period, the executive branch showed little interest in fighting the problem of racism, and congressional activity was almost nil. To a great extent, congressional action on civil rights proposals was stymied by Southern filibusters. For example, three anti-lynching bills, in 1922, 1937, and 1940, were passed by the House but killed in the Senate by filibuster (Blaustein and Zangrando 1971); as late as 1940, Congress could not outlaw lynching. During this period, judicial decisions had more of an impact on racism than the interventions of either the executive or legislative branches. The Court's role was more significant because the strategies of protest demanded it — the decisions basically restated the rights blacks were supposedly guaranteed in the Constitution.

From 1941 to 1958, the legal and judicial strategies used previously with limited success continued to be applied, bringing executive and judicial responses from the Federal Government, but Congress again failed to respond with antidiscrimination legislation. Executive interventions by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower included 12 executive orders affecting fair employment practices, Federal contracts with private industry, employment and advancement opportunities in Federal service, integration of the armed forces, and the implementation of a Federal court order for school desegregation (Blaustein and Zangrando 1971). The Supreme Court issued decisions on voting, interstate travel, housing covenants, higher education, and public school desegregation.

The period between 1957 and 1968 was one of the most eventful in the civil rights struggle. Congress finally took action because white backlash to executive and judicial interventions had prompted State and local jurisdictions to sabotage attempts at reform. This was a time of Southern mob violence by the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan, the sit-in tactic at lunch counters in Greensboro, N.C., and the freedom rides from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, events that dramatized the need for congressional action. Congress passed four civil rights acts in 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1968. The one in 1957 was not extensive, but it established a Civil Rights Commission to monitor voting violations, strengthened provisions of the United States Codes, and authorized the Justice Department to prosecute Federal election violations. The 1960 Civil Rights Act furthered efforts to eliminate voting irregularities and to eliminate social violence. The one in 1964 contained separate titles covering almost every aspect of public life, enhanced the power of the Civil Rights Commission created in 1957, and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Community Relations Service. The 1968 Civil Rights Act, containing the "open housing provision," prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. In addition, it strengthened laws against interference with Federal action, prevented discrimination in the selection of juries, and doubled appropriations to the Community Relations Service.

Besides affirming the 1964 Civil Rights Act with the *Heart of Atlanta Motel* v. *United States* (1964) decision, other Supreme Court rulings were no less important. In *NAACP* v. *Alabama* (1958) and *NAACP* v. *Button* (1963), the Court prohibited the denial of NAACP activity in the South. The crucial sit-in tactic was upheld in *Garner* v. *Louisiana* (1961), *Peterson* v. *Greenville* (1963), and *Bell* v. *Maryland* (1964).

In addition to strong congressional action and supporting decisions by the Court, executive leadership also was significant. In 1962, President Kennedy issued a proclamation demanding that Mississippi and Alabama comply with a Federal court order to desegregate institutions of higher education. Federal marshals and the National Guard were called out to ensure James Meredith's admission to "Ole Miss" in 1962 and Vivian Malone and James Hood's admission to the University of Alabama in 1963. President Johnson's leadership in pushing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was crucial to passage of this legislation. The latter placed Federal examiners at registration and polling sites to monitor irregularities and outlawed literacy tests and other discriminatory practices. The extensive enforcement provisions of this act were upheld by the Court in *South Carolina* v. *Katzenbach* (1966), legitimating the legislation and demonstrating a consistency and congruity of policy among government branches. During this period, antidiscrimination policy was more comprehensive than ever before.

From 1968 to 1978, Congress continued to guarantee civil rights and explicitly forbade discrimination through legislation. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 struck down discriminatory practices by employers and unions, Federal, State, and local governments, and educational institutions. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 prohibited discrimination by banks and credit institutions. Legislation not expressly aimed at discrimination but containing nondiscriminatory provisions to reinforce earlier civil rights laws prohibited discrimination by State and local governments in the areas of employment (Inter-governmental Personnel Act 1970; Comprehensive Employment and Training Act 1973), financial assistance (State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act 72) and jury selection (Jury Selection and Service Act 1968); and by Federal financial assistance recipients such as law enforcement agencies (Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act 1968), ACTION (Domestic Volunteer Service Act 1973), and community service agencies (Community Services Act 1974). Legislation aimed at remedying the effects of past discrimination by reducing class inequality in-

cluded the Public Works Employment Act of 1977, the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972, and the Health and Community Development Act of 1974.

Despite the need to consolidate gains made during the sixties, strict and vigorous enforcement of civil rights provisions during the seventies was lacking. Executive leadership in this area was absent during President Nixon's term (1968-1974). For example, lead agencies in civil rights enforcement — the Justice Department, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Civil Service Commission, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission — received neither strong executive endorsement nor close supervision, despite the importance of enforcement efforts at this time of transition in the civil rights struggle. President Carter appears to be more committed to enforcement, as his FY 1979 budget calls for significant increases in civil rights enforcement activities, especially against discriminatory practices in hiring and promotion. Total Federal spending for the protection of the right to vote, access to public accommodations, fair housing, and equal education and employment opportunities has increased 37 percent from fiscal years 1977 to 1979 (Hager and Gest 1978).

Supreme Court decisions in the seventies were both supportive and detrimental to efforts to eliminate racial inequality and discrimination. Busing was one issue on which the Court rendered new interpretations of the Constitution and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title IV, "Desegregation of Public Education," states specifically that Congress does not empower a court to require transportation between schools or school districts to achieve integration. In *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), the Supreme Court interpreted Title IV as meaning that its authority to enforce equal protection of the laws (or any other constitutional guarantees) through busing was limited to cases where a constitutional violation had occurred (Hirschhorn 1976). In *Swann*, the Court ordered the use of busing because constitutional violation was demonstrated, i.e., segregation arose from local or State government action (*de jure*). In *Milliken* v. *Bradley* (1974), the Court disallowed busing to remedy segregation occurring as a result of private actions (*de facto*). However, a subsequent ruling on this case held that government would have to fund compensatory education programs for inner city school children, if busing could not be used to desegregate.

In 1978, affirmative action programs came under the Court's close scrutiny. The Bakke case, though one of the most important Supreme Court decisions of the decade, is not a transforming one like *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954). With no majority agreeing on a single opinion to express the Court's view, the decision will probably allow existing social policy in the area of affirmative action to continue. To many, the Court's decisions represented the perfect compromise: Bakke was given his place in medical school, and quotas, like the one used by the University of California's admissions program, were ruled unconstitutional. Yet, by a 5-4 margin, the Court upheld the use of race as a factor to be taken into consideration when attempting to remedy the effect of past discrimination.

Justice Powell's vote was crucial. Four of the justices had invoked the 14th Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to uphold the principle of color-blind equality, thus ruling unconstitutional the Davis admissions program which set aside 16 out of 100 places for minorities. Four of the justices interpreted the constitution as permitting allocations based on race, when such allocations were intended to remedy past discrimination against an individual or when they redressed generalized wrongs committed by society against particular groups. Powell sided with the former group, arguing that preferential treatment could not be justified solely because of past discrimination. Thus, Powell objected to the Davis program because it totally excluded nonminorities from a "specific percentage of the seats in an entering class," violating their 14th Amendment rights. Yet, Powell also argued that preferential treatment was legitimate in achieving the diversity of background necessary to quality education. He conceded that universities could use preferential treatment to produce a racially diverse student body; he praised the Harvard admissions program, which did not fix numerical quotas but maintained a "flexible" approach. Justice Brennan noted, however, "the 'Harvard' program, as those employing it readily concede, openly and successfully employs a racial criterion for the purpose of ensuring" minority representation. The difference between the two, therefore, was not the results they achieved but the

methods they employed. Davis more honestly stated its formula for achieving diversity. The Court will allow affirmative action to stand covertly in the unreported weighting factors and formulas university admissions programs use to achieve diversity, giving universities a good deal of discretion. Whether they use it to continue bringing minorities into higher education is unclear. The Court affirmed that a State institution, which itself had not discriminated, is under no obligation to have an affirmative action plan.

Thus, the last decade was characterized by only a halfhearted effort to enforce the civil rights gains of the sixties. Although a substantial structure had been created to guarantee the rights of minorities, the lack of follow-through via enforcement of those rights left racism and social inequality major problems of the seventies. A lack of vigorous executive leadership, uncoordinated congressional oversight, and inadequate support from the Supreme Court contributed only limited advances. The Federal Government and the country continue to lack a total commitment to eliminating racism. Assessing the history of the civil rights struggle, Blaustein and Zangrando (1971) state that "'. . . in each historical period [the dominant white majority] pulled back from the point of extensive reform."

Federal Interventions To Eliminate Racial Inequality in Employment

The U.S. economy is one of the strongest in the world, and the U.S. standard of living is one of the highest; yet, nonwhites have not shared in this wealth to the extent that they should. They have been excluded from the business world because they lacked capital, credit, insurance, and the educational opportunities to learn the skills needed to operate businesses successfully. They have been denied opportunities in the working world because ability tests do not account for past discrimination, automation has lessened the demand for unskilled labor, business and industry have moved to suburban centers, and transportation is poor. The economic dependence produced is a symptom of institutional racism.

In 1941, A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters threatened a mass march on Washington to protest discrimination in hiring by war industries. This was instrumental in gaining Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which created the Commission on Fair Employment Practices, designed to eliminate discrimination in employment and vocational training programs in defense industries and Government defense contracts. Although the commission could investigate and recommend, it was not given enforcement powers. Congressional opposition to the commission killed it shortly after the war; the expediency of its emergence was evidenced by its early death.

In 1962, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, establishing the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, precursor of the current EEOC and the most significant Federal tool in the fight against employment discrimination. This order empowered the commission to withhold Federal contracts with private companies unless the contractor initiated a program of affirmative action to ensure (1) applicants were employed without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin, and (2) all employees were treated fairly while they were employed.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act provided the most far-reaching civil rights legislation ever in the area of employment. It prohibited covered employers, employment agencies, and labor unions from discriminating in hiring, firing, promotion, or any other aspect of employment or job training on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. However, employees of Federal, State, and local governments, private clubs, and educational and religious institutions were exempted from Title VII. Seniority or merit systems were allowed to remain intact if they were not intended to discriminate, but the Courts did strike down such systems if they were previously used to discriminate and had not currently been adjusted to rectify the situation. Ability tests designed or intended to discriminate were also outlawed. The courts contributed an important clarification to the issue by holding that, regardless of *intent*, ability tests which had the *effect* of excluding nonwhites were prohibited, unless they were clearly related to job performance. On this matter, the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* (1971) stated: " . . . practices, procedures, or tests neutral on their face, and even neutral in terms of intent, cannot be maintained if they operate to freeze the status quo of prior discriminatory practices . . . " (cited in Hirschhorn 1976). The Court's emphasis on effect rather than intent was an important step in attacking institutional racism. While it is not always possi-

ble to demonstrate racist intent, it is possible to demonstrate racist effects, e.g., by assessing the number of nonwhites employed out of the total applicant pool. Thus, the burden of proof was shifted from the victim of discrimination trying to prove racist intent to the employer attempting to justify how his selection procedures were job related.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act also created an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to replace the one established in 1962 by President Kennedy. Its purpose was to administer provisions of Title VII and investigate alleged violations. Enforcement power was limited to referral of complaints to the Attorney General's office where they were investigated to determine if "reasonable cause" existed to proceed. If "cause" did exist, private and informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion were used to bring about compliance. Voluntary compliance being unsuccessful, EEOC could then initiate civil action in Federal district court on behalf of the aggrieved individual. Courts hearing a Title VII suit were empowered to enjoin discriminatory practices and to order affirmative action and reinstatement of employment, with or without back pay.

The high unemployment rates of minorities during the mid-sixties brought about the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which authorized job training for groups with special employment problems. This act created the Job Corps to provide job training for disadvantaged youth in residential centers and the Neighborhood Youth Corps to help high school dropouts and poor youths by providing part-time or summer jobs. This act and programs which emerged from President Johnson's "Great Society" legislation (e.g., Job Opportunities in the Business Sector — JOBS) had a significant effect on participants' later economic performance but not on overall, population-wide unemployment rates (Donnelly 1978).

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 expanded coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include employers and unions with between 15 and 25 employees or members, Federal, State, and local governments, as well as educational institutions. It also strengthened the enforcement capabilities of EEOC by empowering it to issue administrative "cease and desist" orders and by transferring the Attorney General's powers in employment discrimination cases back to EEOC. In terms of Federal employment, the Civil Service Commission was vested with enforcement responsibility for agencies or departments of the Federal Government.

The 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act provided on-the-job and classroom training to the unskilled, re-authorized Job Corps and summer job programs for disadvantaged youth, and created public service jobs. It represented a compromise between President Nixon, who wanted to turn manpower programs over to localities, and the Democratic majority in Congress, which pushed for Federally created public service jobs. The CETA program gives State and local governments Federal dollars to hire the unemployed to provide community services. What has embroiled the program in controversy is that localities are not creating new jobs and hiring new workers but are instead using the money to pay for old jobs funded in the past by local taxes (Donnelly 1978). The tactic is called "substitution" and does little to decrease unemployment rates.

In the area of employment policy, the Federal Government has intervened by executive order, legislation, and judicial decision. By far the most pervasive type of policy has been guaranteeing civil rights, i.e., fair employment practices. Affirmative action programs have been particularly important, as were programs that attempted to reduce class inequality. How effective are these attempts? The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, since its creation in 1962 and its beefing up in 1964 and 1972, has been one of the Federal Government's most instrumental interventions in watchguarding employment discrimination. To examine its effectiveness, we draw on a report prepared by the Comptroller General in 1976 (U.S. General Accounting Office 1976).

GAO's assessment of EEOC's effectiveness was concerned with the ability of EEOC to provide relief to victims of employment discrimination and to eliminate systemic discrimination in employment systems. In carrying out its study and determining criteria for evaluation, GAO made this presumption: In the absence of all discrimination, the social, ethnic, and sexual composition of an employer's work force at all levels should reasonably represent the total labor market area work force or community population. Thus, GAO measured effectiveness in terms of the extent of improvement in employment status of minorities and not in the employment practices themselves. The emphasis was on results and not on intent.

The title of the GAO report sums up its major finding: "The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Has Made Little Progress in Eliminating Employment Discrimination." Results have been minimal. Although some success has been achieved in specific instances, EEOC has not accomplished the "substantial advances" in reducing employment discrimination that are needed to improve the employment status of minorities.

In terms of individual charge resolution activities (i.e., an individual brings a complaint of employment discrimination), GAO reports that charging parties waited an average of 2 years for resolution of their complaint, with some extending to 7 years. As of June 1975, the EEOC backlog totaled 126,340 charges, some dating back to FY 1968. Congress originally envisioned a 3-month period for resolving charges. Between July 1972 and March 1975, successfully negotiated settlements occurred in 11 percent of the cases brought before EEOC. In an additional 11 percent of the cases, EEOC was unable to negotiate a settlement, despite evidence of discrimination. Thus, of the 22 percent of cases in which EEOC believed discrimination had occurred, only one-half were successfully negotiated. No-cause findings amounted to about 16 percent. Lack of EEOC jurisdiction, withdrawal of charge by plaintiff, failure to locate charging party, and charge resolution by other agencies resulted in 61 percent of the cases being closed administratively.

Regarding systemic discrimination activities, GAO evaluated data from EEOC's annual survey of the Nation's private employers (under its jurisdiction) which have 100 or more employees. The survey reports the employment status of minorities and women in nine job categories. From 1966 to 1974, the employment participation rate for minority women increased 3 percent, for minority men, 1.9 percent. For some of the better paying job categories (officials and managers, skilled craftsmen), participation rate increases over the 8-year period were higher than participation rate increases for total employment. In other categories, rate increases were lower than total employment changes. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1977) reported occupational distribution statistics showing that in 1976 minorities held fewer white collar jobs than nonminorities (35 percent vs. 52 percent), and were twice as likely to be employed as service workers (25 percent vs. 12 percent). As of June, 1978, the unemployment rate for minorities was 11.9 percent, while the nonminority rate was 4.9 percent. One of the most staggering unemployment statistics comparing minority and nonminority is for teenagers: The former are unemployed at a rate of 37.1 percent, the latter at a rate of 11.6 percent (U.S. Department of Labor 1978).

The GAO report notes that there are numerous factors outside of EEOC control which have an impact on employment, e.g., general economic conditions, union agreements, labor market conditions, employment activities of other Federal agencies. These factors are extremely difficult to control and, as a result, make unemployment statistics only one measure with which to judge EEOC effectiveness. Nevertheless, GAO concludes that EEOC has had only minimal impact on alleviating systemic employment discrimination.

One of the reasons for EEOC's disappointing performance, according to the report, is that EEOC has been used as a political football. For example, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided that EEOC's chairman and other commissioners be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of 5 years. In actual practice, these appointments serve at the pleasure of the President. Political considerations have been responsible for high turnover in these top management positions. From 1965 to 1975, EEOC has had 10 chairmen or acting chairmen and 10 executive directors or acting executive directors. Frequent turnover like this causes disruption at EEOC headquarters, where new staff must get acquainted, management reorganizations occur, and policy and program changes are implemented. District offices, which are asked to reorient to new management and new programs constantly, often respond slowly and do not take policy changes seriously.

Other problems EEOC has faced are the astounding number of charges received and the resources at its disposal. EEOC's initial budget of $3.25 million and a staff of 190 in FY 1966 were based on the receipt of 2,000 charges annually. In its second year, however, 10,000 charges were received. During FYs 1969 to 1975, the number of charges increased from 12,148 to 71,023 (585 percent), funding increased from $9 million to $55 million (611 percent), and staff increased from 579 to 2,384 (411 percent). GAO does not draw any conclusions about EEOC's workload, given its resources, but it does seem that Congress underestimated the extent of employment discrimination when originally allocating funds. The extent of backlog may suggest that EEOC staffing, which has not kept pace

with the number of incoming charges or the amount of funding, requires additional personnel.

In addition to these difficulties, GAO cites the lack of fair employment practices case law, conflicting lower court decisions on Title VII cases, and a number of EEOC management problems. These include weaknesses in administrative controls over charge processing, inadequate management information systems which fail to provide timely and accurate data, limited use of State and local fair employment practices agencies, limited use of litigation authority in cases of systemic discrimination, and lack of coordination with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs.

EEOC responded to the highly critical GAO report by saying, in part, that GAO failed:

> to recognize that any evaluation of EEOC's quantitative and legal impact must be set against a cultural and socioeconomic background. Racism and sexual stereotyping are so pervasive and deep rooted in our society that the expectations of minorities and women to achieve full employment equality may indeed be eluded for some time despite more intensified institutional and legal efforts (Walsh 1976).

While many of the GAO criticisms are warranted, the tone of the report is inflammatory and can potentially be used to scapegoat EEOC for the lack of progress this country has made in eliminating employment discrimination. Politicians love the opportunity to save taxpayers' money by eliminating "wasteful and inefficient" programs, but too often inefficiency is a result of underfunding and understaffing, i.e., undercommitment. GAO did not give enough weight to these factors in its report. Nevertheless, the structure of the evaluation, especially with regard to its use of multiple sources of data and emphasis on program activities and systemic impact, provides a model for assessing the effectiveness of other Federal interventions designed to eliminate racism.

Evaluating Federal Interventions

The Importance of Evaluation. Campbell (1969) suggested that the most appropriate context in which to institute reform (i.e., a social policy, program, or intervention designed to produce change) should be of an experimental nature. The idea that reforms be treated as experiments calls for a more dispassionate and scientific approach to change than we now are accustomed to. The "experimenting society," as he dubs it, is one which develops its programs, policies, and interventions from many sources of knowledge, including previous experience, social science data, and the people expected to benefit from the intervention. Such a strategy for change must contain a research or evaluation component specifically designed to provide both a continuing source of feedback or a monitoring system that allows for "mid-course corrections," and a sophisticated, methodologically sound experimental design for evaluating the overall effectiveness of the intervention. The latter may include such techniques as needs assessment, pre- and post-testing, control groups, manipulation of independent variables, etc. Through research of this sort, it is possible to improve our programs and policies to better achieve the results we desire. The "experimenting society" relies on a rational and planned system of change for shaping the environment to better meet society's needs. The process described is a scientific one and is based on a strategy of empiricism applied to social change. It is a more sensible approach for constructive change than either political expediency or ideologically pure derivations of theory. In the final analysis, the pain of human suffering and the problem of scarce resources demand that we obtain solutions to social problems as quickly as possible. The most efficient strategy for making social potentialities into social actualities is a planned and systematic approach, relying on no less than an honest confrontation of our successes and failures.

Methods of Evaluation. Evaluation research has become increasingly sophisticated in the last few years, in part because scarce resources have made cost efficiency essential. Two of the most essential features developed for this purpose have been social indicators and program evaluation.

Social indicators are statistics which describe various conditions of life and, when compiled over a period of time, permit the identification of changes and trends which can then be used to make more informed judgments about the conditions of society. Social indicators can measure subjective or objective phenomena, though this distinction is thought by many to be a spurious one. Some subjective indicators might include the degree of satisfaction with one's job, marriage, neighborhood, or life. Objective indicators might be unemployment rates, income levels, educational attainment. Andrews and Withey (1976) sug-

gest that these two types of social indicators complement each other and can be thought of as two parallel series: "one indicating how people themselves evaluate various aspects of their lives and the other indicating the external or environmental conditions relevant to each of those aspects." The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development notes the value of monitoring a wide range of social indicators because they provide "a system of 'early warning' of growing imbalance, social disbenefits, dissatisfactions and emerging social needs" (cited in Andrews and Withey 1976). Social indicators can potentially be used to focus the attention of policymakers on current social problems and have provided information important in designing more equitable social systems based on new knowledge about the successes and failures of our current social programs.

Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) note that there is a growing recognition of the need for social indicators of the life experiences of blacks and other minorities. While there is always the danger that such data will be misused, it is also possible that social indicators which assess the experiences of minorities may elucidate the societal problems contributing to these experiences. For example, Campbell et al. report that blacks are most dissatisfied with areas of their life in which they perceive a clear discrepancy between societal norms and their own achievement. Thus, the greatest differences in satisfaction occur for such domains of life as standard of living, level of savings, housing, and amount of education. Blacks report less dissatisfaction in areas of life where social standards are not clear and it is more difficult to compare one's experience to the referent. Such areas include family life, marriage, and friendship. The implications of these findings are varied; the social policies that could be developed in response to them are numerous. But the data are important if for no other reason than that they provide a more rational basis on which to debate issues and create effective programs for the present and the future.

Where social indicators provide a measure of global well-being, program evaluation offers a measure, more limited in scope, of how well a particular program or policy achieves its goals. If Federal interventions are attempts at changing undesirable situations, then the process by which programs of change are developed should be a problem-solving one. First, the government must recognize a situation as undesirable. The data of social indicators may describe societal conditions but cannot replace the value decisions essential to defining certain situations as problems. Once committed to action, the government must then formulate goals and objectives to ameliorate the situation. The question of what constitutes an acceptable resolution is raised at this juncture. This phase is no more imbued with political considerations than any other phase. Alternative strategies for intervention are then considered. The government usually entertains many options, each with its own advantages and disadvantages. Debate usually focuses on predictions of cost benefit for each strategy. After agreement is reached on how to intervene, the policy is then implemented, and program evaluation should begin at this point in the process. A plan for evaluation of the overall effectiveness of the program should be devised early so that it can be incorporated into the functioning of the program, helping to insure that research can later be conducted without the hindrances which often render evaluation ineffective. It also offers an opportunity for setting down goals in operationalized terms, important to both the final evaluation and ongoing evaluations for the clarity of purpose it demands and the referent for effectiveness it provides. Programs should ideally be evaluated using multiple sources of data, because they ensure a more accurate and comprehensive picture of what has or has not been achieved. Most Federal interventions are broad enough in scope that many indicators are necessary for judging effectiveness. The data obtained through evaluation are feedback to be used for recognizing new problems and formulating new goals and strategies. The cycle is repeated when the effects of these adaptations or innovations are assessed and the data used to shape the program once again. Foskett and Fox (1975), discussing how program evaluation can be useful to legislators, argue that, if Congress wants to exercise its full authority, program evaluation can be the mechanism for linking together legislative goals, government spending, and program activity and consequences. They describe experimental and quasi-experimental designs which yield evidence about relationships between program results and congressional goals.

Criteria for Evaluating Interventions. Burkey (1971) identifies five criteria important for Federal interventions to succeed. They are organizational efficiency, the extent of verified knowledge based upon continuous research programs, enforcement, support or resistance to policy, and the comprehen-

siveness of policy. He states:

> If the organizations that implement policy are internally efficient, if knowledge based upon a continuing monitoring of the environment is ascertained and utilized, if policies are enforced, and if they are enforced by the most effective means, if support is high and resistance low in the environment to be changed and if policy is based upon a comprehensive systems approach to change rather than a piecemeal attack, then policies will be effective (i.e., attain their goals).

Burkey's prescription describes a number of elements and a gestalt — the variables are important in themselves, but it is the integration of them which makes interventions work. Thus, the degree of effectiveness is determined by the extent to which all of these characteristics of an intervention are successfully met.

The first criterion, organizational efficiency, relates to the fact that an agency, organization, or commission will be administering the policy or program. In judging effectiveness, we must know whether administration is internally efficient. In part, the administering entity must understand clearly the goals and objectives of the policy it is administering. When this does not occur, policy is rendered ineffective. For example, under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Office of Education was responsible for enforcement of Title VI — "Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs" — with respect to schools. Implementation was delayed for some time because the Office of Education was unable to put together desegregation guidelines for school districts. In fact, the first set of guidelines that emerged was written by a consultant on his own initiative and first published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (Burkey 1971). Another example of how a lack of clarity in goals disrupted organizational policy occurred at EEOC. The frequent turnover in top management positions, an average of one a year between 1965 and 1975, led to so many program and policy changes that befuddled district offices did not take new directives seriously. Cognitive clarity of policy, as Burkey calls it, suffers also, as control of Congress and the Presidency shift between political parties and as administrators and policymakers do not communicate effectively.

Sufficient resources affect organizational efficiency as well. Part of the reason why the EEOC resolution averaged 2 years, and its backlog of complaints totaled over 125,000, has to do with underfunding and understaffing. While EEOC's FY 1979 budget is projected at just over $100 million (Hager and Gest 1978) and represents a significant increase over previous years, it does not compare favorably with, for example, the defense budget, which will be well over $100 billion in FY 1979. The GAO report mentioned inefficiency of EEOC operations as a result of weak administrative controls, but it never dealt with the tough question of whether EEOC's resources were adequate to its task. Unfortunately, when underfunded agencies become inefficient, it is more self-serving for politicians to scapegoat the agency, calling for their extinction in the name of saving taxpayers' dollars, than it is to reexamine the government's commitment to the policy.

Organizational autonomy is another feature of internal efficiency — does an agency have the freedom to make its own decisions and to operate relatively independently? Or is it constantly subjected to the political whims of Congress and the President or embroiled in jurisdictional disputes with other agencies sharing responsibility for implementation? This latter problem was particularly acute during President Nixon's term, as his "New Federation" policy attempted to turn over more and more control in the areas of education, manpower training, urban development, and law enforcement to State and local governments by way of special revenue sharing plans (Barker and McCory 1976). The Congressional Black Caucus objected to the policy on the grounds that it would dilute antidiscrimination efforts by according responsibility for implementation to too many agencies. Instead, the Caucus argued for consolidation of responsibility in one entity which would allow for greater autonomy and accountability.

The second criterion — the extent of verified knowledge based upon continuous research programs — assumes that, with greater knowledge of the social conditions and social processes of the systems to be changed, interventions stand better probabilities of success. Social indicators can provide some knowledge of the causes and effects of discrimination as well as a yardstick for measuring the systemic changes achieved by the policy. Program evaluation offers some of this information but can also be employed for ongoing monitoring of the program's strengths and weaknesses, thereby facilitating more immediate corrections in implementation. For example, social indicators of health status show nonwhites to be less healthy than whites. In 1975, the Congressional Budget Office (1977a) reported that nonwhites averaged 8.8 bed-

disability days per person compared to only 6.2 for whites. The infant mortality rate for whites equaled 14.8 per 1,000 live births but was 24.9 for nonwhites, and the average life expectancy for nonwhites was approximately 6 years less than for whites, 67 vs. 72.7 years, respectively. Yet, an evaluation of the Medicaid program, which is the primary health care insurance for nonwhites, revealed that mean expenditures in 1969 for whites averaged $375 but only $213 for nonwhites (Davis 1976). In 1974, 5 years later, Medicaid payments to whites were again 75 percent higher than for nonwhites, $560 vs. $321, respectively. It is this kind of data which must be used to improve social programing. If it is neither generated nor used, interventions will not be on target. A glaring example is found in the Federal Government's postsecondary educational programs, designed to increase enrollment of the poor in the Nation's colleges and universities. Two of the student assistance programs, Basic Educational Opportunity Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans, do not request racial or ethnic data on their application forms. Thus, it is impossible to determine if funds are appropriately targeted.

Enforcement is another criterion of special importance to the success of Federal interventions. Strategies of enforcement include suasion, when government attempts to persuade individuals, groups, or institutions to follow its preferences; mutual self-interest, when government predicates delivery of funds on compliance with its policy or shows preferences in the awarding of grants, loans, and contracts to those jurisdictions or entities demonstrating compliance; limited sanctions, in which disciplinary action is taken by way of limited fines and penalties levied for violations of law or policy; and maximum sanctions, such as jail sentences and severe penalties following civil or criminal court action, or the use of Federal troops to force compliance (Makielski 1973).

Generally, suasion is the least effective enforcement strategy. For example, following the Supreme Court's unanimous decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954), its call for implementation of the desegregation process with "all deliberate speed" and "good faith compliance at the earliest possible date" was ignored. The Southern Education Reporting Service for the school year 1964-1965 found only about 2 percent of the three million blacks in Southern schools to be receiving a desegregated education. Similarly, EEOC's limited success with the suasion tactic — less than 50 percent of its "conciliation" attempts were successfully negotiated settlements — prompted Congress in 1972 to amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to strengthen EEOC's enforcement capabilities. Amendments authorized EEOC to file suit in Federal district courts against discriminating employers. However, as of June 1975, only 1 percent of EEOC's litigation activities produced favorable court settlements.

Affirmative action programs, instituted by employers and educational institutions in response to Executive Order 11246 and Title VI requirements of nondiscrimination for Federal financial assistance, demonstrate the self-interest tactic and have proved more successful than either of the approaches so far discussed, but the most dramatic tactic has been the maximum sanction strategy. It was observed when President Kennedy sent Federal marshalls and called up the National Guard to ensure the admission of James Meredith to Mississippi State. And it was observed when President Johnson posted Federal examiners at registration and polling sites throughout the South to ensure compliance with provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Support or resistance to policy will also have a significant impact on the effectiveness of Federal interventions. Support or resistance can come from the target of the policy (e.g., school boards, labor unions, companies with Federal contracts, real estate agencies, universities, city and State governments, etc.), organized groups who see benefits and advantages (e.g., the NAACP, SCLC, ACLU), or threats and disadvantages (e.g., the White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society), and the unorganized citizenry.

Examples of resistance to policy by targets of that policy are numerous. Under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, State and local governments receive Federal money to provide new community service jobs for the unemployed. Instead of the CETA program helping the hardcore unemployed, it has been turned into a form of Federal revenue sharing by cities and counties who do not use the money to hire additional workers but to bankroll jobs previously funded by local taxes (Donnelly 1978). The tactic improves the locality's fiscal picture but subverts CETA's goal of reducing unemployment among the disadvantaged. Some studies indicate CETA money finances four "old" jobs for each

"new" job it creates. In addition, local governments have tended to mistarget CETA money: Most CETA participants are white, male, and educated; and only a minute proportion are placed in permanent, regular positions. Local politicians have used CETA money to provide patronage jobs for friends and political associates, some of whom have been found to be working on political campaigns.

The tactic of using Federal funds to improve local fiscal standing has also been observed with the government's two major educational programs of support, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). The former provides compensatory education assistance for low-achieving children who attend schools in areas with a high concentration of families in poverty. The latter assists school districts undergoing desegregation as a result of court order, State agency, or DHEW plan. Both programs were intended to supplement regular school expenditures. In practice, one study revealed that each ESEA Federal dollar allocated to school districts resulted in only 67 cents of additional expenditures on compensatory programs by localities. Thus, one-third of ESEA funds were being appropriated to either noncompensatory programs or local tax relief. In some cases, ESAA funds were used for general aid to school districts rather than targeted at desegregation (Congressional Budget Office 1977b).

An example of resistance to policy is the nonparticipation of some physicians in the Medicaid program, the primary health care insurance for 20 million of the Nation's poor. Yet, the Congressional Budget Office (1977a) reports the percentage of non-Federal physicians who served Medicaid patients in 1974 ranged from 30 percent in Florida to 97 percent in West Virginia. The national average was 51 percent. Nonparticipation was most common in inner city areas which are usually nonwhite. This may, in part, account for the continuing 75 percent differential in Medicaid expenditures between whites and nonwhites. Nonparticipation may also account for the fact that nonwhites, when they are served, receive second-rate treatment. In New York City, for example, 10 percent of physicians participating in Medicaid claimed over 60 percent of the city's billings during the first 6 months of 1975. These "Medicaid mills" are more likely to shunt nonwhites to State hospitals and to provide episodic rather than continuous care. Hospitals also resist serving Medicaid patients. While they cannot legally refuse Medicaid patients without jeopardizing other Federal funds for which they are eligible, hospitals discriminate against nonwhites by requiring that they be admitted by a physician with staff privileges. Usually, nonwhites are less likely to have access to such a physician.

The last criterion, comprehensiveness of policy, reflects the degree to which a policy utilizes a "systems" approach to social change rather than a "piecemeal" attack. Social policy attempts to change individual attitudes and behaviors that are shaped by the many social systems in which a person lives. As a result, policy is more effective if it permeates all of the systems to which an individual is responsive. Thus, institutionalized racism, by which we mean a supra-institutional framework that maintains racial inequality in every aspect of life, must be fought on many battlegrounds. Burkey (1971) explains why:

> . . . one can postulate that if racial discrimination took place only in education, such consequences as the following would exist: educational discrimination creates low levels of education and job skills; low education and employment training means low-status occupational positions; low-status occupational positions create low income and minimal social powers within the race; low income means a low level of subsistence and a lower level of health, since health in America is greatly determined by one's ability to pay . . . .

It would not be enough, for example, to eliminate racism in employment opportunity, if we did not also eliminate it in education. Nor would it be sufficient to improve the health of nonwhites by eliminating discrimination in health care without eliminating it in housing and also improving nutrition.

A comprehensive policy to eliminate discrimination is not the same as a comprehensive policy to eliminate the effects of past discrimination (i.e., racial inequality) and present discrimination. The former would entail policies aimed at guaranteeing civil rights coupled with effective enforcement; the latter would incorporate civil rights guarantees and enforcement as a base, but it would also include affirmative action and programs which reduced class inequality. This is necessary because the effects of past discrimination cannot be undone by simply "starting the game over." Such a policy has not yet been tried because this country still lacks a strong commitment to achieving equality of opportunity for all.

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